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Lathrop Colgate Harper:
A Happy Memory*

By LAWRENCE C. WROTH

LIFE as Mr. Harper lived it was, intensively, life with books. Very often the books were great books; always they were good books; usually, but not invariably, they were books of rarity. But whether or not they possessed this final added grace, they were in all cases books distinguished by quality. There never lived a man, I believe, more completely absorbed than he was in books, in finding out what they were about, in buying and selling them, in studying the lore and procedures of his bookseller's trade. With persistence one might occasionally divert his mind from its preoccupation by a direct question as to what he thought of some event of transitory importance like the attack upon Pearl Harbor, but after a shrewd, concise, and unarguable affirmation in reply he would take up again the one great subject at the point of interruption.

It was not only in his shop that this continuous thinking and brooding and talking about books went on. It was the same on the bus or in the cab, at dinner in one of his cherished Italian restaurants, or at his home afterwards waiting for the night to pass

* Read at the meeting of the Society at the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., May 16, 1958.

so that he could get back to 8 West 40th Street. As horses and dogs were to the character on the Dover coach, books were to him more than a fancy; they were life itself. And as he loved above all else significant books, great and small, to be with him was to share in one of the great spiritual adventures, the search for quality.

My own acquaintance with the world of great Americana began in Mr. Harper's shop at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-Seventh Street. How many are here who remember him in that location? If Mr. Streeter were here he would remember. Miss Stillwell and Mr. Vail remember. Mr. Parsonage remembers better than anyone because it was there that, a boy from London, he went to work at his first American job, and if we may think of Lathrop C. Harper, Inc. as carrying on the old business, his only American job. It was in that shop that one day in 1923 on my way to take up the librarianship of the John Carter Brown, I learned what life was like in the areas which until then had been for me the outer space of the book world. That day Mr. John B. Stetson came in and in the course of his visit found himself pleased with a copy of the Varthema *Itinerario* of Venice, 1520. When in reply to his question Mr. Harper told him the price was "twelve fifty," he slipped the book, unwrapped, into the patch pocket of his tweed jacket and walked out into the crowded New York streets. Misled by this offhandedness, I asked Mr. Harper the foolish question which I am sure you have anticipated. When he replied without any perceptible evidence of surprise at my innocence that the price had been not twelve dollars and fifty cents but twelve hundred and fifty dollars, I realized that I had entered a new world of values. It was not until I got to Providence and made a study of this edition of the Varthema with the Juan Diaz relation appended that I began to see that except in rare instances values in books are fundamentally a measure of esteem for contents. Here in this book was the earliest report in print of the Córdoba and Grijalva discoveries and explorations of Yuca-

tán and Mexico, and therefore the first news carried to Europeans of the revolution, the new era in the economic, political, and social life of mankind, which through these events was about to be inaugurated. Mr. Harper had introduced me impressively to the great books.

From now on throughout this brief address I shall be speaking of two concepts which soon became one in my mind—Lathrop Harper and the great books of Americana and incunabula. Not many months had passed after this introduction when I found myself buying from him that very important first printed report upon the fortunes of the Plymouth colony, the Cushman *Sermon* of 1622, the E. A. Crowninshield-Charles Deane-A. T. White-Thomas W. Streeter copy. At the same time he sold us four Italian and French news relations concerning Sir Francis Drake, three of them printed in the lifetime of “il Drago” and the other recounting the freshly received news of his death. So far as I recall, no copy of the Cushman sermon has since been sold in this country, certainly not at auction, and no copy of any one of the four Drake pieces.

These were quiet transactions. Later on drama was occasionally to ensue when the book and the dealer and the purchaser came together. Once when I was saying good-bye to him just before he left upon his annual European trip, he spoke to me in the manner of a departing father to his child: “What,” said he, “shall I bring you from Europe?” And I, in the same spirit, replied, “Bring me a Thorne map for our Hakluyt *Divers Voyages* and a Wright-Molyneux map for our Hakluyt *Principall Navigations*.” Many weeks later he called me one day and with the most elaborate casualness of manner (in later years I learned to sit up and take notice when he put on that air) asked me when I was coming to New York. I named a day and hour. When I reached 8 West 40th Street at the time appointed I realized that something was about to occur. The stage was set and an audience gathered in the persons of Mr. Grenville Kane, then a member

of the John Carter Brown Visiting Committee, Mr. Parsonage, and Miss Lone. "Here," said Mr. Harper, "is something I have brought you." I need not carry on with this. You know that I am leading up to one of those mysterious coincidences which are the salt of the book collector's repast. The "something" he had brought me was two books—one, a fragment of the *Divers Voyages* containing a Thorne map in perfect condition, the other a tall, virtually uncut Hakluyt of 1598-1600 in two volumes, complete with the Wright-Molyneux map. In my agitation I fumbled, and—I continue the baseball lingo—bobbled the volumes and dropped all three of them to the floor. I didn't believe it had happened, and I still think it a sort of miracle that both those monuments of cartography should have come to a library at the same time in the same package. I believe that no more than one of each of these maps has come upon the market in the intervening years. The Wright-Molyneux map, significant in world history as the first practical application of the Mercator projection, was an extraordinary copy—two separate sheets, each with its original untrimmed margins on all four sides just as it came from the press. I love recalling that moment, the smile of Mr. Kane, the surrounding atmosphere of friendliness, the exultation.

If anyone pressed Mr. Harper on the subject of maps, he would be likely to say that he didn't know anything about them and wasn't particularly interested. Indeed, one of his tersely expressed generalizations, born of exasperation with certain enthusiasts I could name, was, "All map men are crazy." But he, too, could be crazy when it was a question of a celebrated map or of a map not at all celebrated in which he had recognized with quick and instinctive reaction the element of historic importance. One day I walked into 8 West 40th, where I found Mr. Harper and Douglas Parsonage in the act of unwrapping a parcel just arrived from England. I must tell those of you who did not know him that in moments of excitement Mr. Harper's mind might run ahead of his tongue, leaving enunciation and pronun-

ciation to take care of themselves. "What do you think I've got?" he asked. "I can't guess," I replied. "I've got a Stavnova with the map," he said in what fiction writers call "hushed tones." In equally hushed tones I said, "I will buy it." And so was consummated, sight unseen, the purchase of a book of very large price, without mention of title, place, or date of publication, designated only by a name which never was on land or sea. But none of that mattered. I knew with complete certainty that by Stavnova he meant Stobnicza and that the book was the *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam* of Cracow, 1512, and he knew that I knew and that I would go all out to secure for the Library this copy of the book, one of three known with the map. And who, if he had the chance and could beg or borrow the money, wouldn't buy the book which probably more than any other except the *Paesi* of 1507 carried to European readers because of its map a revealing picture of the New World? That map popularized the cartographical concept of the large Waldseemüller map, of 1507. It was, in fact, a plagiarism of the two inset hemispheres found at the top of the Waldseemüller map, printed in the Stobnicza book back to back on either side of a single sheet. The Waldseemüller map came and mysteriously passed beyond the ken of scholars except for a few traces which continued to puzzle them until its rediscovery four centuries later in the year 1901. The Stobnicza hemispheres, specifically the western hemisphere, remained to tell the world that to the westward between Europe and Asia lay two north and south-running continents joined by an isthmus, and that between these continents and Asia lay a vast ocean, as yet undiscovered, in the midst of which lay Marco Polo's Japan. Here was probably the most learned and the most successful conjecture ever made by mapmaker or geographer. "All map men are crazy," but this time Mr. Harper was as crazy as the craziest.

I have already suggested that Mr. Harper had the gift of sententious expression, that he was a maker of the well-packed

apophthegm. It was sometime in the late twenties, I think, that one whom we may describe as a fly-by-night Roman bookseller offered a young American librarian a copy of the non-existent, that is to say, the never-existent, printed edition of the lost Cortés First Letter. The terms were enticingly moderate, but cash in advance. Appealed to for advice by the librarian, Mr. Harper brought that negotiation quickly to an end. Not long afterwards a collector came back from Rome boasting a purchase of unusual importance made by what used to be called "private treaty," made in this instance from an individual who had claimed to be the father confessor or devoted old chaplain of a princely but impoverished Roman family. Mr. Eames, Miss Belle Greene, and one or two others pronounced the book a counterfeit. For the moment, certainly, Rome was not appreciated by American booksellers and collectors. Mr. Harper spoke for all of them with the warning, expressed in a sort of "House that Jack Built" progression, "Never buy a book in Rome; especially never buy a book in Rome up an alley; and never under any circumstances buy a book in Rome up an alley from a priest."

The mention of Rome takes me in this unorganized discourse to Paris, where one day my wife and I found ourselves by pure chance, when entering a hotel, occupying the opposite sides of a revolving door with Mr. and Mrs. Harper, and thereafter spent many interesting hours with them. One day I went with Mr. Harper to visit the establishment of Mr. Charles Chadenat, that most gentlemanly of booksellers, dwelling in an ancient house, tall and narrow, set in its own courtyard on one of the quais, house and book room no less cool, spare, and immaculate than their owner. My spoken French is a sad example of wasted opportunity in youth overlaid by the carefree character of AEF communications. Mr. Harper, however, had no French at all and Mr. Chadenat no English, and as negotiations went on I found myself a self-appointed interpreter. Some business was done and as we left the old gentleman's house I felt quite high

in my own esteem, so high, indeed, that I said to Mr. Harper, "What do you do in your dealings with European booksellers when there is no one at hand to interpret?" "Oh," he replied, "it doesn't really matter. I know the word for 'imperfect' in every language in Europe."

A few days later we met the Harpers for luncheon at a restaurant behind the Madeleine, one of the many tried and tested by Mrs. Harper and given place in her wonderful little guide to the exceptional but unpretentious restaurants of Europe. As we sat down at a table not yet cleared of puddles of red wine left by the departing customers I asked Mr. Harper if he had bought anything that morning. "Oh," he said, "just one little thing," and as he spoke took from his pocket an ordinary envelope and sailed it across the table to me. I mean "sailed it" literally, because it came skimming lightly through the puddles of wine into my lap. I wiped it off and removed its contents, a perfect, uncut copy, crisp as the day it was printed, of the Father Charles Lallemant *Lettre*, of 1627, the report from the field which began the great series of Jesuit Relations from New France but is separated from it by the years of isolation of Canada from France caused by the English capture of Quebec in 1629. "This, of course, is for the John Carter Brown," I said when I realized what I had in my hand. I think the Lallemant *Lettre* was probably the only book he regretted selling us. When I returned to Providence I found that the Depression had reached a new depth. There was almost no money then or for a good many years afterwards. It took us ten years to pay for that book. Nobody could have been kinder than Mr. Harper. In the course of those years we bought many other things from him and paid for them promptly, but somehow never were able to pay for the Lallemant book. He never said a word about it to me in all that time. What he may have been saying about me to others I don't want to know.

In speaking of book prices it is to be made clear that nobody ever got a bargain from Mr. Harper, but then neither did any-

body ever buy from him an inferior or a shoddy book, or, differences in tastes taken into account, an uninteresting book. We were among those willing to pay good prices for quality goods, knowing that only in that way are great libraries made. This philosophical attitude on our part was put to the test several times, notably when we bought from him a copy of John Smith's *True Relation* of 1608. I think he dealt a shade too strictly with us on that one, but his bookseller's pride, his prestige even, made it inevitable that he should demand a large profit on one of the two or three greatest American books in a fine and most interesting copy. Neither he nor anyone else in New York had ever handled a work of Americana of much larger significance. As for us, though we paid well for it, we acquired in that transaction the Earl of Leconfield-Wizard Earl of Northumberland copy of the book, presumably a copy which came to the Wizard Earl from his brother, George Percy, John Smith's successor in the governorship of Virginia. I don't know when another copy of equally interesting provenance, perfect, with blank leaf A and with the introduction complete, will come upon the market. It was particularly important that we should have the book for the reason that already we had upon our shelves two copies of it, one with blank leaf A and a variant title-page, but both in varying degrees imperfect. We could, it seemed to us, no longer put off acquiring a perfect copy of this particular one of the four pillars of American history north of Mexico, that is, the Cabeza de Vaca *Relacion* of 1542; the Gentleman of Elvas *Relaçam* of 1557; the John Smith *True Relation* of 1608; and the Champlain *Des Sauvages*, of 1603, basic supports, respectively, of the Southwest of the United States, the Southeast, the English colonies, and New France. It is possible that if the John Carter Brown owned the Hariot *Briefe and true Reporte* in the quarto of 1588, I would call that book the Virginia pillar instead of the John Smith *True Relation*, but the JCB doesn't own the Hariot, and, anyhow, who is to make the decision? I wish, however, that the Clements Library custodians

wouldn't show me that book every time I visit their building. I know exactly what it looks like, and I am tired of it.

Our last business with Mr. Harper was in connection with another of the four pillars of which I have spoken. This was a purchase made not from him but through his agency. I refer to the copy of the *Relaçam* of the Gentleman of Elvas in its original edition of Evora, 1557, bought for us in 1950 at the thirteenth sale of the late Mr. Charles Chadenat's surprising stock. That narrative, the first account in print of the De Soto expedition, is known by four copies only, one of them the Colbert copy in the New York Public Library. Encouraged by Mr. Harper and strongly supported by President Wriston of Brown University, we put in a very substantial bid, so substantial, indeed, that Mr. Goldschmidt, who was acting for Mr. Harper, cabled back to him, "Do you mean dollars or francs?" The actual sum at which the auctioneer awarded the book to us went through a quick enlargement when certain booksellers met afterwards at the round table for the *revision* of the price. But the book came to us in the end. It is pleasant to think that our last experience with Mr. Harper after nearly thirty years of association was in connection with one of the greatest of American historical documents. Here was the end of our search together for quality, for documents important in the record of human destiny.

I have been compelled to weave my story around my own experiences with Mr. Harper, but I ask you to remember that similar stories could have been told by Mr. William L. Clements and Randolph Adams, even more piquant stories, perhaps, because his services to the Clements Library had to do with the actual creation of that institution. In the Preface to his book about the Library Mr. Clements estimated that a third of his collection had passed through Mr. Harper's hands, and Mr. Thomas Adams, formerly librarian of the Chapin Library at Williams College, tells me that virtually the whole of the Americana and incunabula in that notably fine collection, made

by Mr. Alfred Clark Chapin, was acquired from Mr. Harper or through his agency. The Grenville Kane books at Princeton show his influence, as does the collection of Mr. Streeter. The Library of Congress, the Morgan Library, and the New York Public all contain items sold by him to which they refer with satisfaction.

I have left to the end a too brief reference to Mr. Harper's interest in fifteenth-century books, the slowly growing interest which led him to the position of preëminence among American dealers in incunabula. I was about to say that there have been more spectacular dealers in incunabula noted for occasional sales of single books of extraordinary importance, but even in the realm of the spectacular a bookseller who could offer in the same catalogue, as Mr. Harper did, copies of the *Catholicon* and the Bible of 1462 hasn't much to apologize for in anybody's presence.

Anyone now or in the future interested in the American book trade must turn with admiration to the five catalogues listing 1,000 incunabula issued by Mr. Harper in the period 1928-1930, and in the latter year gathered into a single indexed volume with the unassuming title, *A Selection of Incunabula*. This is one of the memorable American catalogues. Edited jointly by Mr. Harper and his assistants, Miss Lone and Mr. Parsonage, its collations and descriptive notes are concise, comprehensive, and illuminating. It is printed as soberly as a library catalogue, and it is as austere in contents as in form. It is without scareheads or hurrahs; it refrains from touting the second-rate and gives rarity its due weight and no more. It remains a tribute to the intelligence and integrity of its maker and, in addition to that, a reference work of permanent value in the world of letters.

The assembling of so large and varied a stock was in itself an unusual feat. Going into that branch of the business without previous training, he knew by instinct, it seems, the books which had significance beyond the fact of their early date. He successfully avoided buying *en bloc* the slow-moving stocks which had been

standing for years upon the shelves of European booksellers. That same instinct for individual quality when employed in the positive sense led him to the purchase of illustrated incunabula, of books in the vernaculars—the true wine of the country—of books in which were expressed the contemporary interests of the communities in which they were produced. A brief analysis of one part only of that catalogue showed me at the time of its publication that it contained verse, fables and jocose tales, current and recent history, schoolbooks, hagiography, biography, language, military art, cosmography, and always, of course, theology and ecclesiology. Many of the books offered had also the interests traditional among collectors of incunabula, especially in the matter of new or little-known presses, of unusual bindings, or unusual typographical excellence. But as a whole the 1,000 titles were dominated or at least strongly tintured by books of “subject” interest. I can’t do better than quote from George Parker Winship’s introduction to one of the parts of the catalogue. “Mr. Harper,” he wrote, “combining the wisdom of his years in the book-marts with an undimmed freshness of vision, saw the way in which scholarship ought to go, long before the professional plodders knew that there was ever to be any turning.”

We may think of Lathrop Harper as a builder of libraries in his lifetime who after his death continues to build libraries. In the last full years of his life his own thrift and industry and the thrift and industry of his family and forbears had combined to make him a man of wealth. In those years he was cherishing in mind and heart, unknown to all of us, the vision of the continuing service his fortune might perform for long generations to the libraries and institutions he loved, enabling them to carry on the tradition of scholarly study which he revered and assuring them of the ability to continue the quest for excellence. As the result of the perfect and beautiful understanding between him

and Mrs. Harper, she became so impressed by the earnestness of his belief and purpose that she gladly carried out his wishes and went beyond that to double the effectiveness of his legacy by the addition to it of her own considerable fortune, laboriously earned through a lifetime of writing. Lathrop Colgate Harper and Mabel Herbert Harper are names we must remember.

James Rivington and Silas Deane*

By ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

WHEN Mr. Gordan asked me to read a paper at this meeting, he suggested that I might talk about something that would have interested Mr. Lathrop Harper. There was very little, bookwise, that did not interest Mr. Harper. Two things, however, stand out. He was a New Yorker, born and bred, with a deep affection for the city and a great interest in New York books. But he was not a book collector in the usual sense of the word. It seemed only fitting that I discuss New York books. And I thought that it might be fun to talk about certain New York books which Mr. Harper and I collected—much against our wills.

It all started with the receipt of a Parke-Bernet catalogue for the sale on February 11, 1941, a mixed lot of Americana consigned for the most part by "other Owners." One "other Owner" had obviously put up twenty-four pamphlets uniformly bound in stylish, polished calf and printed by James Rivington in New York. Mr. Harper and I discussed the sale. He said, "These are good books and they must not go too cheaply." I said, "You are absolutely right, Sir." Here, we were discussing something that you all understand, inherent worth. There are some of you present this afternoon who have disagreed with me on this score, but our disagreement did not grow out of the basic principle so much as out of the fact that we were standing on opposite sides of the counter.

Be that as it may, the twenty-four pamphlets came up and

* Read at the meeting of the Society at the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., May 16, 1958.

averaged out at about thirty-five dollars the item. Mr. Harper and I came away with the feeling that we had done honor to some good New York books and, at the same time, had taken aboard sound merchandise.

As time passed by, more and more Rivingtons appeared in the auction rooms. Mr. Harper and I were men of principle. Their inherent worth held steady, \$35 and up. When I went into the service, David Randall slipped into my place. When I returned, I had an overwhelming compulsion to buy all the Rivingtons which Dave had purchased and which, of course, had remained on the Scribner shelves. By this time, Mr. Harper and I had collected up to forty titles in x number of copies. It is a tribute to Mr. Harper's sagacity that I pulled ahead of him in only one instance. There was a time when he had four copies of Joseph Galloway's *A Candid Examination*. I managed to keep my holdings down to three.

I decided that Rivington had to be the subject for my paper. Mr. Gordan was duly informed. He immediately left for Europe. I then discovered that there was in manuscript an exhaustive two-volume study of Rivington, his life and his works. A change of course was indicated, but neither time nor the program notice permitted too radical a deviation.

As a result, I have shifted my emphasis from Rivington to Silas Deane, who was kind enough to graduate from Yale in the Class of 1758. This is not too much of a deviation, for it was Rivington who took Deane's ailing contemporary reputation and quite literally killed it.

You are familiar with Deane's ill-fated rôle as our first foreign emissary. It was our good fortune that Deane obtained in France the decisive material which kept our Continental Army in business during the critical years of 1777-1778. It was Deane's misfortune to encounter the jealous ambition of Arthur Lee, an ambition which sought to sully even Franklin's reputation. It is beyond my scope to settle, once and for all, the Deane-Lee con-

troversy. Suffice it to say that Deane was recalled in the winter of 1778-1779 and that he failed to produce vouchers covering his purchases in France. This plus the fact that the Continental Congress was on the verge of bankruptcy added fuel to the suspicions which Lee had so assiduously started smouldering. Deane's only hope lay in obtaining a proper accounting in France. To that end, he sailed on June 14, 1780.

A letter dated April 20, 1780, to Barnabas Deane indicates his feeling. "You will think I write this in a gloomy, desponding turn of mind. I do not but I am not gay. I am sorry to see others so when our public prophets are so serious and alarming, but I do not despond; a consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions and the disinterestedness of my conduct support me, and I trust will, to the very last, whatever may happen." During the next twelve months Deane's sadness did turn to despondency. His humiliation at the hands of the Continental Congress; his failure to obtain a proper accounting; the military successes of the British in the Southern Department, all contributed to a thoroughly defeatist attitude. It was only human that Deane should have unburdened himself to his family and trusted friends.

During the period from May 10th to June 14th of 1781, he wrote eleven letters to people in America. Their general purport cast doubts upon the wisdom of independence and democracy as the surest means of procuring peace, liberty and security for America. He attacked the French Alliance as a Pandora's box and warned that our true interests, political and commercial, lay in close alliance with England.

In June of 1781 a vessel sailed from L'Orient bearing this highly combustible cargo of opinion. It was captured, and the British were quick to see the significance of their prize. The letters were immediately sent to the man who could make the most use of them, James Rivington, Royal Printer to His Majesty in New York. What followed had all the elements of a Greek tragedy.

On October 20, 1781, Rivington's *Royal Gazette* announced:

The Printer, ever ready to serve his King and Country, has the pleasure to inform such of his readers as wish well to both, of the Government's intercepting a number of letters in Europe, that were on their way from Paris to certain demagogues in America. Their dates are of May and June last, they disclose the real state of the rebel affairs on the other side of the water, with the ultimate designs of the Courts of Versailles and Madrid. . . . Melancholy truths are indeed extorted at last, worthy the views of people too long cheated by their confidants. . . . A great part of the budget consists of the confidential epistles of Silas Deane and Doctor Franklin, fellow negotiators in the secret transactions of their Congressional High Mightinesses, with their great and magnanimous Ally. The reader may therefore promise himself a copious supply of curious information from this correspondence, especially when informed that the letters are lengthy, and among others, directed at that class which the rebels call their Great Men.

Now bear in mind that it was only yesterday, October 19th, that the British Army had formally surrendered their arms at Yorktown to the tune of "The World Turned Upside Down." If ever an event contradicted the prophecy of a public figure, this was it. Rivington's press worked on with tidal force.

The following issue of the *Royal Gazette*, October 24th, contained the first letter, addressed to William Duer. Writing of the French, Deane had this to say, "The King gave a large sum of money about the time of Mr. Lauren's arrival for the use of the army, but the Court had so little confidence in Congress, that the money was made payable to General Washington's order only . . . this shews either that they had no confidence in Congress, or that they mean to take General Washington and his army in effect into their pay, and make them subservient to their purposes."

The following week, October 31st, the *Royal Gazette* carried Washington's dispatches to Congress covering the British surrender. In the same issue, Deane was saying to Jeremiah Wadsworth, "In a word, my friend, nothing short of peace can save

our country from ruin and slavery, and whatever you may think in America, I am convinced that the terms offered by Great Britain afforded a good room to open a treaty on, and ought not to be rejected."

The issue of November 24th contained a dispatch from Cornwallis to Clinton reporting the Yorktown *débâcle* and a request that Rivington print said dispatch. It also carried a portion of Deane's letter to Jesse Root. Referring to his impressions of America during his visit in 1779-1780, he wrote in retrospect,

I found indeed the hills, the mountains, and rivers of America, situated as formerly, but almost everything which had distinguished and done honour to the inhabitants appeared to have changed. The dangers of suddenly releasing a people from the restraints of regular government, which were visibly experienced. Noisy and designing individuals had risen from the lowest order, and displaced the best and most respectable members of society. . . . The new governments were almost everywhere feeble, and ill administered; anarchy and licentious violence frequently prevailed, and even in Congress itself, reason, patriotism, and justice were but too often vanquished by faction, cabal, and views of private interest. But what appeared a more alarming evil, was the depravity of morals which had taken place among our countrymen, and been encouraged if not produced by the revolution.

Could Deane have said anything that would have stirred up more resentment in a country which had, after six agonizing years, finally won *de facto* independence?

To make matters worse, Rivington gave the Deane Letters even wider circulation in the enduring form of a small octavo entitled *Paris Papers; of Mr. Silas Deane's late intercepted Letters*. This contained nine of the letters which had appeared in the *Royal Gazette*, and it was advertised in that paper on March 2nd, 1782, as being for sale at "six shillings currency" the copy.

In order that you may fully appreciate the impact which all this had on contemporary opinion, let me quote a letter from Washington to Benjamin Talmadge, dated May 15, 1782, from Headquarters at Newburgh, "Sir: I have received your Letter

by the Baron Steuben; and take the earliest opportunity to return the Enclosure (a letter from Silas Deane). I could easily have excused your sending it to me; as I have so bad an opinion of the Writer of that Letter to you, that I wish never to hear or see anything more of so infamous a character."

Let us turn to something more cheerful. To paraphrase a quotation: Everybody is interested in book prices but nobody talks about them; nobody, that is, but the booksellers. Mr. Harper was very much of a bookseller, so let us consider the price history of the *Paris Papers* over an eighty-year period. During that time the book has appeared ten times in the auction rooms. Mr. Isaac Dayton's copy reached the low mark in 1902 with a price of eleven dollars. On the other hand, the Menzies copy which fetched \$24 in 1876 realized \$130 in the Leiter Sale in 1933. The Brinley copy climbed from \$25 in 1880 to a middling \$80 in the Goelet Sale in 1935. A dark horse running under the colors of Mr. André De Coppet paid a nice \$130 in 1955. By and large, it is, as Mr. Harper would have said, a good book.

I should apologize to Fritz Liebert for not taking advantage of a very obvious situation.¹ Mr. Harper and I were dealing, or rather we were not dealing, in multiple copies. I have not stressed bibliographical minutiae for two very good reasons. First, this sort of thing bored Mr. Harper, at least in the medium pamphlet class. For my own part, the sight of but one Rivington imprint, after a while, was quite enough to give me shooting pains.

¹ Mr. Herman Liebert read a paper, "The Importance of Multiple Copies," at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 29, 1954. (Unpublished.) *Editor*.

William Dugard, Pedagogue and Printer to the Commonwealth*

By LEONA ROSTENBERG

WITH the establishment of the Commonwealth, many offices which hitherto had borne royal insignia lost their regal trappings. In the juxtaposition of titles and appointments that of "King's Printer" assumed a more republican designation. By order of the Council of State a "Printer to the State" and "To His Highness The Lord Protector" was selected whose loyalty to the principles of the Cromwell government was obviously unimpeachable. The nomination of William Dugard, English schoolmaster, to this office appears to have been scarcely circumspect. The headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, London, who was to serve the cause of the Lord Protector, had also supported the cause of his predecessor, the late martyr King Charles I. The confused political loyalties of Dugard, not totally dissimilar from those of many of his contemporaries, are of particular interest, since they helped mould the career of a distinguished scholar, printer and bookseller before and during the Protectorate.

William Dugard or Du-Gard, the son of the Reverend Henry Dugard, an Anglican clergyman, descended from a French family of Jersey, was born on January 9, 1605/06, at the Hodges on the Lickhaynde in the Parish of Bromsgrove, Worcester. Located near the foot of the Lickey Hills, Bromsgrove was a pleasant market town not too distant from the county seat of Worces-

* My appreciation is expressed to Mr. R. T. Rivington, Clerk of the Stationers Company, London, for his kind permission to examine the manuscripts at Stationers' Hall.

ter. Bromsgrove boasted an excellent grammar school founded by Edward VI and well endowed with royal scholarships. In all probability young Dugard attended the local school and won a coveted scholarship since he was entered at the Worcester School as a king's scholar. In 1622 he became a pensioner at Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, taking his Bachelor's degree in 1626 to be followed by a Master's degree four years later.¹

Like his uncle Richard Dugard, a tutor at Cambridge, William was destined for a pedagogical career. He accepted his first position in 1626 as school usher at Oundle, and in 1630 he was made master of the Stamford School. Here he appears to have enjoyed considerable influence, since in 1635 he sued the corporate officers for the misappropriation of school lands and other abuses.²

This altercation led to his ultimate departure from Stamford, and in 1637 John Knowles, the nonconformist divine of Colchester, Essex, nominated William Dugard "a most excellent scholar" as a suitable candidate for the vacancy of the local school. Dugard, defeating a candidate proposed by the High Church party of Archbishop Laud, was elected to this position on July 27, 1637, by the mayor and commonalty "with one mutual consent and agreement." Dugard's pedagogical enthusiasm not only increased the attendance of scholars at Colchester School from nine to sixty-nine, but also advanced the general welfare of the institution. He promptly built a fire-room and a study at a personal cost of seventy-one pounds. Since his annual salary totalled sixteen pounds he apparently had a private income.³

¹ Dugard is one of the very few of the seventeenth-century English stationers to be included in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (New York, 1908), VI, 133; see also Dugard's *Will* (MS), Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Laud, 153; Henry Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907), 67.

² Harry B. Wilson, *The History of Merchant-Tailors' School* (London, 1812), I, 268.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 269.

Despite his competence and energy Dugard does not appear to have enjoyed amicable relations with the authorities in his various school assignments. In January 1642/43 he once again faced municipal opposition and was forced to resign his Colchester office, demanding, however, that he receive one hundred pounds indemnity for his earlier disbursements on the school's behalf. His dismissal was protested by several notables including the Earls of Manchester and Exeter, Sir Harbottle Grimeston, Peter Wentworth and others, who declared that his "faithfulness and integrity" deserved "protection in all his just rights and privileges." Although his "just rights" were denied at Colchester his retirement from the academic world proved to be short-lived. In May 1644 he was named headmaster of the well-known Merchant Taylors' School, London, a post which he intermittently held until 1660. It is these years that witnessed not only his attainments as an eminent teacher and author but also his achievements as a London stationer and "Printer to the State."⁴

The Merchant Taylors' School in the Parish of St. Laurence Pountney, founded in 1561, was located between Cannon Street and the Thames. It was designed as an institution "expressly for poore men's children, as well of all nations as for the merchaunt tailors themselves." For the realization of this purpose the school was endowed with generous scholarships and accepted a limited number of students. When William Staple resigned as headmaster in May 1644 the Company entered "into consideracon of the elecon of another able and fitt person to be schoolm[aste]r to supply his place proceeded to the elecon by scrutiny upon five names viz. Nicholas Augur, Humfrey Prichard, Anthony Death, William Dugard and William Wise, and the choice, by most voices, fell upon William Dugard to be chiefe schoolm[aste]r of their said schoole."⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 270; Plomer, *op. cit.*, 67.

Dugard now enjoyed the benefits of his office and vigorously applied himself to his new task. He was assigned a dwelling "adjoyning the said schoole and all stipends, quarteridge, proffits and commodities whatsoever manywise belonging to the said place and imployment of chiefe schoolmaster during the companies pleasure." Shortly after taking up his residence at St. Laurence Pountney, Dugard undertook a classification of the student body. He arranged a folio register of the scholars already in attendance at the school and added the names of the boys who had enrolled during his term. The file has a note of modernity, citing the student's place of birth, age, father's rank and profession.⁶

Dugard's duties included periodic visits to branch schools sponsored by the Merchant Taylors Company, whose Board of Aldermen had elected him examiner of their country schools. In March 1648 he accompanied a group assigned to investigate conditions at the School of Much Crosby, Lancaster. According to a report later submitted to the Company's Court their headmaster had examined the students, "but found them very unready and raw in their answers and in their Grammar rules, and not above two scholars in the School could perfectly read a Chapter in the Bible." The report declared that the school was "slenderly furnished with scholars, not above thirty boys and most of them poor men's sons and som of them Papists children." The Court of the Company appreciated the efforts of its "cheife schoole master . . . in the examinacon of the schools. . . . [he] went to visitt" and as a reward bestowed upon him the "sum of xxlbs. for his paines and encouragement."⁷

Dugard's "paines" for the intellectual improvement of his student body included an enlarged reading program. In 1650 he

⁶ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 270 n. The Folio Register is entitled "Reistrum admissorum in Scholam Mercatorum Scissorum, An. Dom. 1644."

⁷ Charles M. Clode, *Memorials of the Guild of Merchant Taylors . . . in the City of London* (London, 1875), 724; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 289n.

proposed the purchase of several books that "are wanting in the schoole (the old ones being through long vse) worne out together with the pryzes thereof vzt: Biblia Anglicana in quarto att xiiij Constantini Lexicon graec. att xxs. Calepini dictionar Latin xxvs. Cooperi dictionar Lat. att xiiij. Thomae Thomasij dictionar att xs Rider dictionar att xij. Erasm adagia att xviiijs. Poeticum dictionar att vx. Epigram graec. Broderi att xs." Dugard's recommendations were accepted, since it was ordered that the "same bookes be bought and provided by the wardens att such prizes as may be and well bound to be preserved for the vse of in the said schoole and the cheife school master for the time being is to take care of them accordingly."⁸

Dugard's philological suggestions were doubtless based upon his own familiarity with the writings of the English and continental pedagogues. His recognition of their limitations may have prompted him to prepare several textbooks in rhetoric and grammar which were subsequently used at the Merchant Taylors' School. Dugard's compositions reveal his erudition in Greek and Latin and his pedagogical ideology. As a Greek scholar he composed verses on the deaths of Charles I, Thomas Gataker and Cromwell's mother. He likewise edited Lucian's *Dia-*

⁸ R. T. D. Sayle, "Annals of Merchant Taylors' School Library" in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (London, 1935), XV, 4, 462; *The Holy Bible (English)*, any edition prior to 1650, see Donald G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland . . . 1641-1700* (New York, 1945) cites 4to editions, B 2210 (Cambridge, 1645), B 2221 (London, 1648), B 2225 (London, 1648), B 2228 (London, 1649); Constantine Lascaris, *Grammaticae Compendium Graecae Linguae*, see Brunet III, 855-858 for incunable and later editions of this work; Joannes Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum novum* (London, 1637), see A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland* (London, 1946), 21806; Ambrosius Calepinus, *Cornucopia* (Reggio, 1502), also later Venetian and Lyons editions, see Brunet I, 1473-1474; Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* (London, 1565 ff.), see *STC* 5686-5690; Thomas Thomasius, *Dictionarium Latinae et Anglicanae* (Cambridge, 1588 ff.), see *STC* 24008-24017; John Rider, *Dictionarie* (London, 1606 ff.), see *STC* 21033-21036b; Desiderius Erasmus, *Prouerbes or adagies* (London, 1539 ff.), see *STC* 10436-10448; possibly Hermannus Torrentinus, *Dictionarium poeticum* (Paris, 1530), see Barbier IV, 1232; Joannes Brodaeus, *Epigrammatum libri VII* (1549).

logues, adding a Latin translation.⁹ Of greater interest, however, are his publications for the study of Latin and Greek composition. In 1648 he issued his *Rhetorices elementa* which was reprinted in 1651 and 1657. The *Graecae Grammatices Rudimenta*, designed for the student body of the Merchant Taylors' School, was published by Andrew Croke in 1654. The text was arranged into two groups of brief sentences elucidating the different parts of speech and grammatical precepts.¹⁰

In the rôle of publisher, he issued in 1656 one of his most important textbooks, *The English Rudiments of the Latine Tongue* "for the Use of Merchant Tailor's School." In his introduction the author explains the goal of scholarship: "In thy coming to school, thou must consider that thy End and Aim is, (or ought to be) to obtain learning: the End of that is, to enable thee to do God better service, either in Church or Commonwealth." Dugard's grammar is divided into a series of questions and answers which were devised "to render the task more easie and pleasanter both to Teacher and Learner." The *Rudiments* was designed for the "young beginner, whose tender capacitie cannot comprehend Curious Criticisms." For more advanced study the author referred the scholar to the *Janua linguarum reserata* and the *Vestibulum* of the Czech pedagogue, Jan Comenius. In 1660 before his withdrawal from the Merchant Taylors' School he issued his *Lexicon Graeci Testamenti Alphabetum*, likewise planned for the use of his student body.¹¹

During his early years at the Merchant Taylors' School Dugard enjoyed professional and personal happiness. He was regarded by his contemporaries as "a very diligent, exact and ex-

⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, VI, 133; Clode, *op. cit.*, 724; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 328. Lucian, *Dialogorum Selectorum libri duo. A Guglielmo Dugardo recogniti. cum Interpretatione Latina* (London, 1649), see Wing, *op. cit.*, L 3427.

¹⁰ Wing, *op. cit.*, D 2468, D 2469, D 2470; D 2466, The *Graecae Grammatices Rudimenta* was inspired by the *Manuale* of Caspar Seidel printed by Dugard in 1649 and 1653, Wing, S 2414, S 2415.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, D 2464, D 2464A, D 2465, D 2467.

cellently learned Man in all Grammatical learning [who] had a good strain in Poetry and learning." He shared the dwelling "adjoining the said school" with his second wife and six children, two of whom, Richard and Thomas, attended their father's school. Among his friends he counted the Latin Secretary of the Commonwealth, John Milton, the distinguished political theorist Sir James Harrington, George Ent, the physician and fellow alumnus of Sydney Sussex College, and the anatomist Dr. Samuel Collins.¹²

It is not altogether incompatible that on February 10, 1647/48, William Dugard, headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, "was sworne and admitted a freeman" of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, London. An entry of the Company's Minute Book of February 10th reads: "This day an order of the Court of Aldermen for making Mr. William Dugard free of this Company was read and upon debate hereof, it was thought fitt hee being a gentleman well deserving and may bee helpfull in the correction of the Companies School Bookes to admit him into the freedom of this Company. And whereas a fyne hath alwayes beene taken for admitting of a member in this nature, it was now ordered all fees to the house and offices shall be freely remitted to him which said hee thankfully acknowledged and promised to doe his utmost in his way for correcting freely the companies school bookes, or any other service he may doe them, and hereupon Mr. Wm Dugard was sworne a member of this Company."¹³

As an eminent schoolmaster, Dugard was apparently invited

¹² John Stow, *A Survey of the City of London and Westminster* (London, 1733), I, 166; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 270; Charles J. Robinson, *A Register of the Scholars Admitted into Merchants Taylors' School From A.D. 1562 to 1874* (Lewes, 1882), I, 157, 158.

¹³ *Apprentices Bound Turned Over Free and Cloathed 1640 to 1748* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London), 35r., see also *Freeman's Register Beginning 1605 to 1703* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London): "Feb. 10, 1647. Wm Dugard sworn & admitted a freeman of this Company. Per Redemptionem Gratis," 61v; Edward Almack, *A Bibliography of the King's Book or Eikon Basilike* (London, 1896), 19.

to join the Stationers Company to correct its school books, but his subsequent activities as a London printer and publisher far eclipsed such initial intentions. It is not implausible to assume that Dugard sensed the pending crisis in national affairs and wished to dedicate the fruits of his newly established press to his harassed king. It seems possible that the preservation of the person of Charles I and the Crown was so important to Dugard that he was prepared to print the "King's Book" and other works which justified the royal cause. If indeed so noble a motive animated the London schoolmaster, it is most difficult to reconcile his later position as "Printer to the State" with his earlier devotion to the House of Stuart. Or was William Dugard a mere political opportunist? His party juxtaposition betrays a lack of principle and steadfast conviction. Although Dugard's dual rôle as a royalist and republican printer casts aspersions upon his character, his controversial position remains, nevertheless, of twofold interest.

Although Dugard has been characterized as a "private printer," this assumption is totally incorrect. From 1648 to 1661 he printed and published approximately 171 books, partly for London dealers and partly for himself. Of this total five represent the royalist cause, fifty-six that of the Commonwealth, while thirty-three reflect his interest in pedagogy. The remaining seventy-seven fall within the fields of theology, medicine, science, economics and literature. Dugard's activity as a member of the Stationers Company was primarily that of a printer, although his rôle as a publisher must be considered.¹⁴

Dugard's initial equipment of presses and type was purchased from the printer James Young. He appears likewise to have bought much of Young's stock. On June 8, 1648, the Minute Book of the Stationers Company records that the booksellers Flesher, Stephens and Clarke had been ordered "to examine the copies belonging to Mr. Younge; before they be entred to Mr.

¹⁴ Will Ransom, *Private Presses and their Books* (New York, 1929), 25.

Dugard." The London schoolmaster eventually owned several presses which he valued at more than one thousand pounds. His press work bears favorable comparison with the best of the period. His office was furnished with a good assortment of type including various fonts in Greek and Hebrew. It is difficult to determine, however, to what extent he was his own pressman.¹⁵

It is of interest to observe that Dugard conducted his printing career during his mastership at the Merchant Taylors' School. Despite the avowed disapproval of the school authorities he operated his presses within the academy's confines. Both professions were simultaneously practised with the exception of the several intervals encompassing his arrest and confinement in Newgate Prison and his dismissal from the school.¹⁶

Dugard's volume of work as a printer can scarcely bear comparison with that of the larger London houses of John Macocke or Thomas Newcomb. He employed one apprentice, Matthew Inman, who had been originally bound to James Young. Inman followed in Dugard's steps and set up later as a printer on Addle Hill, Thames Street. Dugard also engaged two correctors, John Armstrong, and one Hooker about whom little appears to be known.¹⁷

The first work entered by Dugard at Stationers' Hall on January 4, 1648/49, is the very scarce *De urbibus* of the Byzantine scholar, Stephanus. This was to be followed by twenty-three books printed or published by the headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School during 1648 and 1649. These consist largely of

¹⁵ Almack, *op. cit.*, 19; Plomer, *op. cit.*, 67; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 307; Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers From 1640-1708*, I, 9: August 9, 1649, Young transferred his copyright of Downname's *Breife Concordance . . . To the Bible* and as late as July 6, 1658 assigned to him his rights in Pare's *Works*.

¹⁶ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 319n.

¹⁷ *Apprentices Register Book 1605 to 1666* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London), June 30, 1648; Plomer, *op. cit.*, 106; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series 1649-1650* (London, 1875), 500; Thomas Wagstaffe, *A Defence of the Vindication of King Charles The Martyr In Answer to a Late Pamphlet Intituled Amyntor* (London, 1699), 94.

theological and pedagogical works and include five books which justified the cause of Charles Stuart.¹⁸

Among the publications in the field of education are Dugard's own book, the *Rhetorices elementa*, the *Isagogue Grammatica* of Anthony Ross, *An easie entrance to the Latine Tongue* of Charles Hoole, the Greek *Manuale* of Caspar Seidel, the *Right Teaching of Useful Knowledge to fit Scholars for som honest Profession* by George Snell and *The plainest directions for the true writing of English* by Richard Hodges. Issued by a schoolmaster, these writings are of dual interest since they reflect current pedagogical principles and particular academic texts selected for circulation by an eminent teacher.¹⁹

The purpose of Dugard's promotion of school manuals is quite obvious. Less apparent are his motives for the circulation of books which challenged the government of the Commonwealth and upheld the lost cause of Charles Stuart. There is every reason to believe that Dugard at this period conscientiously favored the royalist party. There is evidence that as early as 1642 he had subscribed twenty pounds as an expression of his "good affection to his majestie." His concrete support of the Crown is further indicated in his printing of books which defended the prerogatives of the fallen monarch: the *Apophthegmata Aurea Regia Carolina*, the *Vaticinium Voivva* of George Wither and the *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia* of George Bate. It was likewise from the press of Dugard that two of the most notable books supporting the theory of monarchy by divine right appeared.²⁰

According to the *Defence of the Vindication of King Charles The Martyr* by Thomas Wagstaffe, the manuscript of the *Eikon Basilike*, the *Povtraitvure of His Sacred Maiesitie*, attributed to Charles

¹⁸ Stephanus (Byzantinus), *De urbibus*, see Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 305: Jan. 4, 1648-1649. This edition is of great rarity; it is not listed in Wing, *op. cit.* or *Catalogue of the British Museum*.

¹⁹ Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 305; Wing, *op. cit.*, D 2468; R 1958; H 2681; S 2414; S 4393; H 2312.

²⁰ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 269 n; Wing, *op. cit.*, C 2144; W 3206; Almack, *op. cit.*, 5.

I, had been sent to the stationer, Richard Royston of the Angel, Ivy Lane, for whom Dugard had printed the *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia* of George Bate. Citing Royston as the publisher and Dugard as the printer of the work, Wagstaffe quotes a deposition of the former, who declared that "the king had sent him a message October before to prepare all things ready for some papers he would shortly send him; but also that it was this very copy brought the 23d of December next following." To confirm Royston's testimony, Wagstaffe supplied the information of the printer, Thomas Milbourn, and a Mr. Clifford who, he declared, had "assisted at the printing of it." In addition Wagstaffe affirmed: "It is certain that Mr. Dugard printed this Book and was catch'd printing of it too; and I have now before me an information of Mr. Hooker given March 30 91 wherein he affirms that he (the said Mr. Hooker) was Corrector to Mr. Dugard's Press in 48; that Icon Basilike was printed at that Press, with the correction of Mr. Hooker, that Mr. Dugard being known was thrown into prison and turned out of his place at Merchant Taylors School and that Mr. Hooker to save himself went to travel for several years."²¹

Mr. Hooker's memory appears to have proven only partially correct. Although in all probability he accurately recalled his own escape, he did not with exactitude recollect the fate of his employer, who as yet was not to confront complete political opprobrium. According to a letter written in 1684 which reviewed the episode, Dugard escaped apprehension through his friendship with Milton. Dugard apparently did not regret his printing of the *Eikon Basilike* since he later stated he had received a "letter from the King's Secretary Sir Edward Nicholas with approbation of my service for his Majesty."²²

Despite the official indignation, copies of the many editions of the *Eikon Basilike* were selling well in London. In a letter written

²¹ Wing, *op. cit.*, E 268; Almack, *op. cit.*, 5; Wagstaffe, *op. cit.*, 94.

²² Almack, *op. cit.*, 6.

February 27, 1648/49, by the divine, Richard Holdsworth, to Bishop Sancroft, the former commented: "The King's Bookes are excessive deare, that I belieue you would not have soe many of them at their prices. Norden sells the worst impressions for 5s. Immediately before I receiv'd your letter by your cosin's man I was with Richard Ireland about the bookes he has none, but betwixt this and Munday he lookes for good store. If they be Roystons they will be above sixe shillings. They are sold for 6.6 in London. The other sort are dully printed in dull paper."²³

Mr. Hooker's memory regarding the ultimate fate of his former employer was not altogether faulty. The headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School was to be cast into Newgate Prison and to forfeit temporarily his academic post for the printing of a book which aroused the most violent indignation of republican England.

As a protest to the execution of Charles I the French scholar Claude de Saumaise wrote his *Defensio Regia*, a denunciation of regicide. The work was issued in two editions by the Elzevier Press at Leyden, followed in late January 1649/50 by the London printing of William Dugard. The circulation of Saumaise's anti-republican book caused immediate action on the part of the Council of State and the prompt apprehension of the offender. A letter was dispatched by Bradshaw to the Governors of the Merchant Taylors' School on February 1, 1649/50, declaring "there hath beene severall scandalous and seditious bookes printed by Wm Dugard, some of which are of a very dangerous nature against this Commonwealth for which we have committed the said Dugard to Newgate to be proceeded against and according to law, and have appointed his presses and other implements to be seized and disposed of . . . and for that wee conceive it not

²³ It is impossible to determine whether Dugard printed any or all of the subsequent editions of the *Eikon Basilike* for Royston, who probably published anonymously many of those listed by Wing, *op. cit.*, E 268, E 269, E 270-E 286, E 304, E 293, E 295-E 298, E 300, E 303, E 305-E 311. See Charles E. Doble, "Notes and Queries on the 'Eikon Basilike'" in *The Academy* (London, January-June, 1883), XXIII, 458.

safe for the Commonwealth that a man of his principells, manifesting continually soe great disaffeccion should be entrusted with the educacon of soe much youth as are under his charge in that schoole, who may have very ill principells instilled in them by him in their youth, that may mislead them afterward in their own preiudice and the preiudice of the Commonwealth; wee therefore desire you to dischardge and remove the said Wm Dugard from the place, charge and office of schoole-master of Merchant-taillors hall.”²⁴

The School's Court promptly heeded the official dispatch. At a meeting of February 8th their headmaster was peremptorily dismissed, to be followed by John Stevens who held the office from February 20, 1649/50, to September 25, 1650.²⁵

In the meantime the unfortunate Dugard, an “enemy of the state,” had been thrown into Newgate upon the issuance of a warrant to the keeper of the prison, who was “to receive William Dugard into his custody for printing several scandalous books against the Commonwealth.” His presses and general equipment had been seized by Joseph Hunscomb, the Beadle of the Company of Stationers, and, according to the harassed victim, his wife and six children had been turned out of doors. His corrector, John Armstrong, was likewise arrested and brought before the Council.²⁶

It appears that Dugard spent one month in Newgate, where he had ample time to muse upon his political future. According to his own testimony he had been tried for his life, but had been spared that life through the intervention of the politician James Harrington. It was probably either Harrington or Milton, his “intimate friend,” who importuned the authorities for his pardon. In March 1649/50 not only his recognizance for “future

²⁴ Wing, *op. cit.*, S 737; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 305n. Alphonse Willems, *Catalogue d'une Collection . . . des Volumes imprimés par Les Elzevier* (Paris, 1896), 2007, 2008.

²⁵ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 305n: Minutes of Court, Feb. 8, 1650.

²⁶ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-1650*, 500, 568; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 307n.

good abbearance" but also his pledge of "£1000 sureties" were accepted by the government. Despite the state's satisfaction with his guarantees he received notice on March 22nd from the Court of the Merchant Taylors' School "to depart with his family within 14 dayes and to yeild up the full possession of his house" and "other things pertaing to the schoole" to his successor, John Stevens. The government was to prove more lenient. Ten days later it restored him his presses on the condition that they were not to be employed to the "prejudice of the Commonwealth."²⁷

His liberty regained and his presses returned, the ejected schoolmaster opened on April 15, 1650, a private academy on St. Peter's Hill near Doctors Common, where he enrolled sixty-seven students of whom twenty-seven had attended the Merchant Taylors' School. The new school was to endure until September 25, 1650. It was during this period and his earlier confinement at Newgate that Dugard had begun to learn and to espouse competently republican credo. The printer of the *Eikon Basilike* and the *Defensio Regia* was shortly to publish John Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, the official reply of the English government to the treatise of Claude de Saumaise issued by William Dugard. The Commonwealth was to reward Master Dugard's political apostasy further. It had forgiven his treason; it had restored his presses; it sought his reinstatement as headmaster at the Merchant Taylors' School. With a gesture of the most astounding magnanimity it appointed William Dugard "Printer to the State" and "To His Highness the Lord Protector."²⁸

²⁷ David Masson, *The Life of John Milton* (New York, 1946), IV, 252; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series. 1650* (London, 1876), 27, 514; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 308n. For the qualifying phrase, "intimate friend," see Almack, *op. cit.*, 47 who quotes a letter from Dr. Thomas Gibb to the Hon. Charles Hatton in which he refers to the printing of the *Eikon Basilike*: "Mr. Dugard, who was Milton's intimate friend," etc.

²⁸ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 308; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series 1650*: April 10, 1650: "To Joseph Hunscomb, To deliver to Mr. Dugard his printing presses and materials seized by warrant of Council."

By September 25, 1650, Dugard had been reinstated as headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School. The school authorities, having received three letters from Mr. Bradshaw, had been compelled to accept his recommendation, since Mr. Dugard now had "given satisfacon both of the due sense of his former error and of his resolucon for the future to serve well of the Commonwealth, whereof and of his speciall abilities to doe good service to the publique both as a schoolmaster and a printer." It was therefore thought "fitt that he be restored to his former place of schoolmaster." The enthusiastic President of the Council of State regarded the former royal partisan as "a man deserving well of learning and in other respects fitt to be encouraged."²⁹

Bradshaw not only recommended Dugard "to be encouraged" as headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, but also thought him "fitt, in quality of printer to the state to employ him." Either through his own acquiescence to republican principles or through the connivance of Milton and Harrington, the apparently rehabilitated former royalist inmate of Newgate, a man whose "ill principells" had qualified him "not safe for the Commonwealth," was now appointed printer to that Commonwealth.³⁰

As "Printer to the State" and "To His Highness The Lord Protector," Dugard was to print and to publish alone or in partnership with Henry Hills an odd fifty-six books and tracts which espoused the policy and conduct of the government. His association with Henry Hills as official printers lasted from 1653 to 1654. Hills, known for his republican sentiment, was a Leveller and had participated in the Battle of Edge-Hill. His printing establishment was located against St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark.³¹

Prior to his partnership with Hills, Dugard had printed and published approximately twenty-seven state tracts and books,

²⁹ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 311n.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Plomer, *op. cit.*, 98.

among these one of the most notable political manifestoes of the Commonwealth. On January 8, 1650, the Council of State ordered Milton to prepare a reply to Saumaise's *Defensio Regia*, originally printed in London by the poet's friend William Dugard. Milton was occupied for almost all of 1650 in the preparation of the work. On December 23, 1650, it was ordered by the Council of State that "Mr. Milton do print the Treatise which he hath written in answer to a late book written by Salmasius against the proceedings of the Commonwealth." With the final transfer of proofs from Dugard's office at the Merchant Taylors' School to Milton's residence in Scotland Yard the work was ready for publication. On December 31, 1650, Dugard entered at Stationers' Hall his copy of "Joannis Miltoni Angli, pro populo anglicano defentio [*sic*] contra Claudii Salmatij Defentiones regium." The publication was announced in the January 16-23, 1650/51 issue of the *Mercurius Politicus* as being on the press and in all likelihood appeared at the end of February 1650/51. Dugard's newspaper *Les Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* advertised the book as "a reply to the scandalous and defamatory treatise by Monsieur Saumaise, a work long desired by honest people and anticipated by all." In the March 2nd issue Dugard cited the popular reaction to the *Defensio*: "The reply to the injurious book of M. de Saumaise by Mr. John Milton, one of the secretaries of the Council of State, appeared last Monday to the general satisfaction of all."³²

Anticipating its wide popularity, the Council of State advised the Committee of Examinations on March 5, 1650/51, "to view Mr. Milton's book, and give order for reprinting of it as they think fit." The second edition of the *Defensio* was printed by Dugard in October 1651. It is referred to by the Dutch scholar, Jan Gronovius, in a letter dated from Deventer, October 17th: "Mr.

³² Masson, *op. cit.*, IV, 252 ff., Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 357; F. F. Madan, "Milton, Salmasius and Dugard" in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* (London, 1924), IV, 119 ff.; Charles Bastide, "Les Gazettes Françaises de Londre au XVII^e Siècle" in *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, 1918), 3.

Milton's book has been reissued in London, enlarged and in splendid form."³³

Praise for the stature of the book and the genius of its author followed rapidly upon the publication of Dugard's first and second editions and the subsequent English and continental versions. The Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius wrote from Stockholm: "I had expected nothing of such quality from an Englishman. Our incomparable Lady Mistress [Queen Christina of Sweden] read the book, and if I am not mistaken, was greatly pleased with it. She spoke highly of the genius of the man." From Amsterdam his correspondent Nicolas Heinsius replied: "Milton's book is in everybody's hands here on account of the nobility of the matter, and we have already seen four editions besides the English one. Who Mr. Milton himself is people are not very well agreed. Ludovic Elzevir declares that he has the best evidence that he is a man both of high birth and of wealth, unconnected with state offices or business and living independently on his country estate." In gratitude the Council of State at a meeting of June 18, 1651, voted to give to its Latin Secretary "on the behalf of the Commonwealth for his good service done in writing an answer to the Book of Salmasius the sum of 100 pounds," which Mr. Milton graciously declined.³⁴

Although Dugard received neither official citation or gift his name was to be associated again with that of Milton in 1652. During the year he printed John Dury's French translation of *Eikonoklastes* which he advertised in *Les Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* in December 1652: "There appeared this week in this city a French version of Mr. Milton's book, a reply to the book of the late King of England." Dury's translation of *Eikonoklastes*

³³ Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 357; Masson, *op. cit.*, IV, 313, 347; Madan, *op. cit.*, 122 offers evidence that Dugard printed only the first and second editions of the *Defensio*. The numerous editions which followed during the ensuing two years, bearing on the title-page the device of the Commonwealth and the imprint, "Londini typis Dugardianis," may be regarded as counterfeit.

³⁴ Masson, *op. cit.*, IV, 317 ff., 321.

is prefaced by a note to the reader begging indulgence for unavoidable errors in punctuation and type substitution, "since the compositors know little French and a frequent replacement of letters has been necessitated because of a lack of correct type."³⁵

Despite his rôle as state printer Dugard was not entitled to official immunity. In 1652 he once again aroused the wrath of the Commonwealth for his publication of a "blasphemous and scandalous book." On January 27, 1651/52, a sergeant at arms had been instructed by the Committee of Examinations "to repair to the house of William Dugard and there to make seizure of a certain impression of books entitled *Catechesis Ecclesiarum Poloniae* and to require him to come forthwith to the Council." On the preceding November 13, 1651, Dugard had entered at Stationers' Hall his copy of the *Racovian Catechism*, a translation of the Polish *Catechism* issued at Rakow in 1605 in which the Polish anti-Trinitarian divines, Salmacius and Korzewski, had accepted Socinian doctrine. The *Catechism* had been the manifesto of European anti-Trinitarianism and was condemned by the English Church. Dugard may have known of the English edition planned by Broecker Janz of Amsterdam and actually published by him in 1652. Dugard's interest in the publication of the *Catechism* may have been prompted by his own intellectual curiosity, credence or his instinctive spirit of rebellion.³⁶

The circulation of the *Catechism* fast became a Parliamentary issue. On January 29, 1651/52, Dugard had been compelled to withdraw his entry of the *Racovian Catechism* in the Stationers Register which reads: "crost out by the consent and desire of Master Dugard." A committee of ministers including Philip Nye, John Dury, John Owen, Sydrach Simpson and others found the book "a collection of blasphemous errors . . . concerning

³⁵ Wing, *op. cit.*, M 2116; the imprint reads: "A Londres par Guill. Du-Gard, Imprimeur du Conseil d'Estat L'an 1652. Et se vend par Nicholas Bourne à la porte Meridionale de la vieille Bourse."

³⁶ Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 383; *Catalogue of the McAlpin Collection of British History and Theology* (New York, 1923), II, 793; *Calendar of State Papers. Domestic Series, 1651-52* (London, 1877), 550.

Predestination, the Fall of Man, Free Will, etc.” After “several examinations and reexaminations of Mr. Dugard” the stationer was found guilty of publishing this “blasphemous and scandalous book.” The Committee’s report resulted in a resolution by the House of Commons that “the sheriffs of London and Middlesex be authorized and required to seize all the printed copies of the Book entituled ‘Catechesis Ecclesiarum quae in Regno Poloniae’ commonly called the Racovian Catechism wherever they shall be found and cause the same to be burnt at the Old Exchange, London and in the New Palace, Westminster.”³⁷

With the annihilation of the *Racovian Catechism* the chastened Dugard entered a two-year period of printing activity devoted to the welfare of the Commonwealth. He not only circulated books and tracts but likewise established a French newspaper which hailed its military victories and domestic events. In June 1650 *Les Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, a semi-monthly newspaper, appeared in the English capital. Dugard, its editor and printer from its inception until 1660, was assisted in its circulation by the prominent publisher of corantos, Nicholas Bourne of the Royal Exchange; Francis Tyton, a stationer at The Three Daggers, Fleet Street, and Maria Constable, at the Sign of the Key, Westminster. The purpose of *Les Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* was to present to the public a bimonthly digest of public news compiled by the editor with the utmost care. Dugard warned the public of a counterfeit edition issued in Holland which he described as spurious, “an insupportable falsification.” The customer was to demand genuine copies from “Monsieur Jean Veely, bookseller at The Hague dwelling at the Sign of the Chronicles of Holland who will always be supplied with recent issues from London.”³⁸

³⁷ *Journals of the House of Commons, From August the 15th, 1651 to March the 16th 1659* (London, 1813), VII, 110, 114.

³⁸ F. W. Bateson, ed., *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1940), I, 760 lists the publication of the periodical from June 1650 to May 3, 1663, with interruptions; Dugard presumably published it until 1660; R. S. Crane & F. B. Kaye, *A Census of British Newspapers and Periodicals 1620-1800*,

Dugard's paper appears to have enjoyed a distribution beyond the confines of Monsieur Veely's premises. In a letter of April 23, 1652, Mazarin wrote to the Comte d'Estrades: "If it is true as the *Nouvelles Publiques de Londres* reports the English Commonwealth is on good terms with the States of Holland."³⁹

The actual extent of the circulation of *Les Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* cannot be determined, but it would appear that this French newssheet enjoyed some popularity in the capital among the many Huguenot and political exiles who, anti-Catholic and anti-Bourbon, read with pleasure of the progress of the Commonwealth, the success of the military engagements at Worcester and Dunbar and tidings of general rejoicing. The foreign dispatches alerted them to events and conditions in the countries they had fled.

The achievements of the Lord Protector's government, which were proclaimed in the French newspaper of the headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, were further circulated in the official publications and tracts which bear the imprint of William Dugard.

The military prowess of the Roundhead Army is reported in a *Breife Narrative of the Victory Obteyned by Parliament's forces in Scotland*, *A True Relation of the rowting of Middleton's Army*, William Basill's *Declaration of the Irish Armie in Ulster*, *A True Relation of a Second Victorie over the Scots at Hamilton*, George Downing's *True Relation of the Progress of Parliament's Forces in Scotland*, etc. The domestic and foreign policies of the Lord Protector are represented in the numerous "articles," "ordinances" and "declarations" which were issued by Dugard and Dugard and Hills: *A Declaration of the Parliament of England upon the marching of the armie into Scotland*, *An Examination of the seasonable and necessarie warning concerning present dangers and duties*, *Memorandum of*

p. 1794, list no copy in USA libraries; for a description of the newspaper, consult Bastide, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Bastide, *op. cit.*, 4n.

*the Conference Held, A Short Plea for the Commonwealth, An Ordinance touching Treasons, An Ordinance for the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the High Court of Chancery, The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland & Ireland & The Dominions Thereto Belonging.*⁴⁰

In 1652 at the charge of the state Dugard was instructed to print 400 copies of a Latin translation of the Council of State's "Declaration of War against the States of Holland." Milton had been asked to prepare the Latin text and to supervise the general printing of the work. Of further interest is Dugard's publication of John Selden's *Mare Clausum*. He was ordered on January 26, 1652, by the Committee for Foreign Affairs to print "the book called Mare Clausum." By November 8th he was requested to bring to the Clerk of Council for the members' use 200 copies of the translation of Selden's work. Both the Latin and English editions *Of the Dominion, or Ownership of the Sea* were printed in folio within a period of six months.⁴¹

Although Dugard was preoccupied from 1650 to 1654 with publications pertaining to state matters, he likewise issued books of academic, scientific and economic interest. In his professional field he printed works by Jan Comenius, John Dury, Charles Hoole, Jeremiah Watson, John Clark, and editions of his own writings. His name is also associated with several of the most notable seventeenth-century publications in the realm of medicine and science: William Harvey's *Exercitationes de generatione animalium*, the *Anatomia hepatis* and *De Rachitide* of the distinguished physician, Francis Glisson, the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, the *Opuscula* of John Gregory and *Dialling Performed Instrumentally* by William Oughtred. The headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School printed three editions of *A Discourse of husbandrie*

⁴⁰ Wing, *op. cit.*, B 4613; T 3039; B 1025; T 2892, D 2110; E 1505, E 3729; M 1681; S 3610, S 3611; C 7134A; C 7128, C 7134; Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 455; Wing G 1457.

⁴¹ Masson, *op. cit.*, IV, 447; *Calendar of State Papers, 1651-1652*, 303, 483; Wing, *op. cit.*, E 2285; S 2430, S 2432.

used in Brabant by the agriculturist, Sir Richard Weston, *Free Ports and the Nature of them Stated* and several works by the London alderman and goldsmith, Thomas Violet: *The Advancement of Merchandize*, *The Mysteries and Secrets of Trade* and his *True Narrative of Som Remarkable Proceedings Concerning the Ships Samson, Salvador and George*, a report of Violet's successful case in admiralty which won for the state an indemnity of 287,000 pounds.⁴²

Dugard's appointment as state printer appears to have terminated after 1654. He may have been dismissed by the Council of State or have been forced to relinquish his official position upon the urging of the school authorities, who had long frowned upon his extra-curricular activity. According to the minutes of the School Court of July 14, 1653, it was ordered that "it be forthwith intimated unto Mr. Dugard that it wilbe very acceptable vnto the Company, if he shall leave his printing and apply himselfe wholly and solely to the duty of the schoole." It is quite apparent that Dugard did not immediately heed the Court's recommendation, since his activity as a printer and publisher reached its peak in 1654, after which there is a perceptible decline until his death in 1662.⁴³

During this period Dugard printed only fourteen books of which three are reissues of his own textbooks and pedagogical writings of contemporaries. These include a *New English Grammar* by Jeremiah Wharton, the *Latinae linguae janua reserata* of Comenius, and the *Vestibulum linguae latinae rerum*. From his press appeared the second and third editions of the *Rhetorices elementa*, while his own *English Rudiments of the Latin Tongue* and *Lexicon*

⁴² *Janua linguarum reserata* (1650); *The reformed librarie-keeper* (1650); *The reformed school* (1651); *The Latine Grammar* (1651, 1653); *The English Grammar* (1654); *Phraesologia puerilis Anglo-Latina* (1650); *Rhetorices Elementa* (1651), *Graeca Grammatica* (1654), see Wing, *op. cit.*, C 5514, D 2282, D 2284; H 2684, H 2685; W 157, C 4473; D 2469, D 2466; H 1091; G 853, G 854 (Arber, *op. cit.*, I, 345); R 2111; G 1927, O 579A; W 1482, W 1483, W 1483A; B 210A1, V 578, V 583, V 593.

⁴³ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 319.

Graeci Testamenti Alphabeticum were printed in 1660 by Henry Lloyd.⁴⁴

In 1661 *The Schools Probation: or Rules and Orders for certain set Exercises to bee Performed by the Scholars on Probation-Daies* was printed for "William Dugard, late of Merchant Tailors, now Master of a Private School in Coleman Street." On December 12, 1660, William Dugard, who for an uninterrupted period of almost sixteen years had served as headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School, had been dismissed from his position. According to the authorities, Dugard had not complied with the School's charter which stipulated a limited admission of 250 students. For the past three years Dugard had disregarded this statute and had permitted an enrollment of 275 pupils. According to the school charges, there had been many complaints from the parents of scholars "of ye neglect of ye cheif masters duty . . . and of his breach of ye companies orders and ordinances thereof wch this Company having observed and several times, both privately and publickly warned and admonished Mr Wm. Dugard thereof . . . notwithstanding the same hath been such neglected by him . . . whereby ye school heretofore famous for discipline and exact teaching . . . doth . . . discharge Mr Wm. Dugard from the place of cheife schoole-master."⁴⁵

Dugard protested his dismissal, stating that he had brought to the School many scholars and had forfeited "a good livelihood in another place." Nevertheless, the decision of the authorities was final, and shortly thereafter the former headmaster set up a private school in White Alley, Coleman Street. Here he attracted many of his former students, enlisting an attendance of one hundred and sixty-nine by March 1661/62.⁴⁶

It was shortly after his dismissal from the Merchant Taylors' School that Dugard engaged in his final encounter with the gov-

⁴⁴ Wing, *op. cit.*, S 887A; Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 325.

⁴⁵ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 326.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, 325 f.

ernment. Having participated in a scheme to promote his own political plans, Dugard's old friend, Sir James Harrington, was forced to elude the Stuart authorities. He sought refuge in December 1660 in Dugard's home in Newington Butts, St. George's Fields. Here, disguised as one Edwards, he was found by the headborough of Newington and his three assistants. According to the deposition of a witness, Harrington was arrested, but "Mr Dugard engaged himselfe body for body on the penalty of five thousand pounds that he should be forthcoming whenever so demaunded." Yielding to Dugard's entreaty, Newington's headborough permitted Harrington to remain in Dugard's custody. It appears, however, that the following morning upon the officer's return "the said Sir James Harrington and Du Gard had absented themselves." Harrington was later apprehended, since on November 26, 1661, he was committed to the Tower. It is certain that the Master of Coleman Street emerged from his hiding since his academy prospered. There is no apparent evidence that he paid Harrington's bond or was penalized for his evasion.⁴⁷

By November 1662 Dugard had become "sicke and weake in body." His death occurred a month later on December 3, 1662. The provisions of his Will reflect his two great life interests: education and books. Although his daughter Lydia was made his sole heiress, his Will provides that if she were to die before her marriage his nephew Henry was to become sole heir unless "my said nephew take not his learning and prove a good scholler according to the judgment and approbation of the master and fellowes of Sydney Sussex Colledge in the Countie of Sussex. Then I doe give will and devise all my Lands and Tenements with their appurtenances in Grafton Fflyford in the Countie of Worcester unto the Master and ffellowes of Sydney Colledge aforesaid forever to have and to hold them to their successors."

⁴⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Reign Charles II, 1660-1661* (London, 1860), 413; Almack, *op. cit.*, 6.

He likewise bequeathed for the "vse and benefitt of Syon College of London Tenn pounds worth of my owne Bookes." To his friends, the physicians George Ent and Samuel Collins, he bequeathed two pounds each, and to the bookseller Robert Littlebury of the Unicorn in Little Britain, five pounds for the purchase of mourning rings.⁴⁸

On April 6, 1663, Dr. Edward Waterhouse, Dugard's executor, fulfilled the decedent's instructions and deposited at Sion College Library "Tenn pounds worth" of the late William Dugard's "owne Bookes." Eustathius, *Commentarii in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam*, the *Lectiones* of Pietro Vettori, an illustrated *Missale Romanum*, the *De situ orbis . . . scriptum* of Dionysius Periegetes, the *Tragoediae* of Aeschylus and the *De situ orbis . . . libri III* of Pomponius Mela. Since these totalled a value of only £8.10.6 he added a copy of the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus. Moved by the late pedagogue's benefaction, Master Waterhouse was prompted to add "a free guift" of his own, the *Monasticon Anglicanum* of William Dugdale. Likewise deposited at Sion College Library was Dugard's carefully compiled "Register" of the students admitted to the Merchant Taylors' School.⁴⁹

The "Register" and the publications, written and printed by William Dugard, remain eloquent testimony to his own scholarship and to his steadfast promotion of learning. The political antitheses presented in the books which bear his imprint cast aspersion upon the sincerity of his character. His rapid switch in party loyalty brands him as a turncoat. His republican apostasy, nevertheless, served the Commonwealth well. The state had at

⁴⁸ Dugard's *Will* is dated November 27, 1662, and was executed on December 4, 1662, the day after his death; for Littlebury, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, 119.

⁴⁹ E. H. Pearce, *Sion College and Library* (Cambridge, 1913), 246; William Reading, *Bibliothecae Cleri Londinensis in Collegio Sionensi Catalogus* (London, 1724), 41; Wing, *op. cit.*, D 2484; Eustathius, *Commentarii in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam* (Rome, 1542-1550), 4 vols.; Petrus Victorius, *Variorum lectionum libri XXVIII* (Florence, 1582); *Missale Romanum* (Antwerp, 1572); Dionysius Periegetes, *De situ orbis scriptum* (London, 1658); Aeschylus, *Tragoediae VII* (Venice, 1552); Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis libri III* (Leyden, 1646); Aethicus, *Cosmographia* (Basle, 1575), Wing, *op. cit.*, D 2484 (Dugdale).

its behest a man of "special abilities to doe good service to the publique both as a schoolmaster and a printer." Dugard's political maneuvers cannot deflect from his intellectual attainments. In the history of English scholarship he ranks as an eminent teacher. In the annals of the English book trade he is to be remembered as a printer and publisher whose name will always be associated with the most noble tributes both to the Crown and to the Commonwealth.

Bibliographical Notes

A Bibliography of Wordsworth in American Periodicals Through 1825

Probably because of the inaccessibility of many American periodicals at the time, Annabel Newton, then Professor of English at Baker University, showed in her study, *Wordsworth in Early American Criticism* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1928), that she was unaware of the full extent of the early reception of Wordsworth in America. She surmised that for a long time Wordsworth was not appreciated because of his subtle mysticism, the prevalent craving for sensational and sentimental literature, and the hostile attacks by the *Edinburgh Review*, to whose opinions Americans deferred. With the exception of brief mention of an American reprint of *Lyrical Ballads* in 1802 and Wordsworth's collected works in 1824, she included only a handful of other references to Wordsworth for the period through 1825: a prose satire directed against Romantic poets in general, printed in the *Club Room* (1820); reviews of his works in the *North American Review* and the *United States Library Gazette* (1824); and John Wilson's attack in his *Noctes Ambrosianae*, reprinted in the *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science* (1825). She concluded that Wordsworth's poetry appeared in obscurity and was unpopular, and that the history of his American reception corresponds roughly with that in England.

With the publication of an article by Professor Leon Howard and one by Professor Leary, Miss Newton's conclusions were modified. Professor Howard showed that Joseph Dennie, as the editor of the most significant magazine of its day, the *Port Folio*, reprinted several of Wordsworth's poems between 1801 and 1804, with some favorable comments, and three parodies. Professor Howard pointed out that Dennie's enthusiasm waned, probably because of the influence of foreign critics. Professor Leary called attention to the first publication in America of a poem by Wordsworth in Dennie's *Farmer's Museum* on September 2, 1799, only one year after its initial appearance in *Lyrical Ballads*. He was also able

to add to a knowledge of Wordsworth's early reputation in America by noting adverse critical comments in the *American Review, and Literary Journal* (1802), the *Literary Magazine and American Register* (1804), and the *Port Folio* (1809).

Of some value as a guide to the American reception of Wordsworth, though it is not confined to American items, is George H. Healey's compilation entitled *The Cornell Wordsworth Collection* (Ithaca, 1957), which supersedes two previous compilations (Ithaca, 1931 and 1942). Mr. Healey has given a fairly complete list of the references to Wordsworth and reprints of his poems in the *Port Folio* from 1801 through 1804, and has noted a small number of reprints, parodies and references which appeared elsewhere. Also significant is W. F. Poole's "Bibliography of Review and Magazine Articles in Criticism of Wordsworth," *Transactions of the Wordsworth Society*, No. 5, which, though devoted mainly to references in British periodicals, contains perhaps half a dozen of the American items I have listed.

This summary represents briefly all that has previously been known about early American reactions to Wordsworth until the appearance of the following bibliography, which is the fruit of an exhaustive search of all the extant American magazines and a few newspapers through 1825. Approximately nine-tenths of it is new material, and it assembles a large body of evidence to substantiate what has only been suspected: that Wordsworth enjoyed a relatively broad vogue. To make clear the extent of that vogue, I have indicated whether the references to Wordsworth were favorable or unfavorable. Unless otherwise noted, each title listed is that of a magazine. That the criticism is reprinted from a British periodical has been noted only if the American one indicates it. Perhaps it should be pointed out that in Section VII, Miscellaneous References, the pages listed are only those referring specifically to Wordsworth. I have also included a list of probably all previous works which contain references to Wordsworth's early American reputation—a convenient guide to those who wish to pursue this subject further.

This bibliography would not have been possible except for the extensive collection of American periodicals on microfilm prepared at the University of Michigan.

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I. *Complete Poems*A. *Lyrical Ballads* (1798)

"Andrew Jones"

Port Folio, I (December 19, 1801), 408. With favorable criticism.*Hive*, I (December 28, 1803), 112. Ascribed to W. Wadsworth [sic].*Weekly Visitor, or Ladies' Miscellany*, II (June 9, 1804), 280. Note indicates that poem is taken from Wordsworth's *Lyrical Ballads*. Wordsworth was sometimes confused with Samuel Woodworth, an American poet.*Merrimack Magazine and Ladies' Literary Cabinet*, I (September 28, 1805), 28.*Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal*, I (May, 1802), 62. Ascribed to W. Wadsworth [sic].*Port Folio*, 5th ser., XIV (August, 1822), 172-173.

"Anecdote for Fathers"

Port Folio, I (July 18, 1801), 232.

"The Convict"

Hive, I (April 25, 1804), 180.

"Goody Blake and Harry Gill"

Farmer's Museum (Walpole, N. H.), September 2, 1799. Newspaper. With Joseph Dennie's favorable criticism. Apparently the first reprinting in America of a poem by Wordsworth.*Federalist; New Jersey Gazette* (Trenton, N. J.), February 10, 1800. Newspaper. Indicated as by the author of *Lyrical Ballads*. With brief comment about the background of the incident upon which the poem is based.

Juvenile Magazine, or Miscellaneous Repository of Useful Information, I (1802), 134-140. With Dennie's favorable criticism.

Lady's Weekly Miscellany, XII (November 24, December 1, 1810), 79-80; 95. With Dennie's favorable criticism.

"The Last of the Flock"

Port Folio, I (February 7, 1801), 48. Unsigned.

"Lines Written in Early Spring"

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 367. With favorable criticism.

"Lines Written near Richmond upon the Thames,
at Evening"

Athenaeum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines, IX (May 1, 1821), 114. Includes some lines which later were published separately as "Remembrance of Collins."

Cincinnati Literary Gazette, II (December 11, 1824), 192. With favorable criticism. Includes some lines which later were published separately as "Remembrance of Collins."

American Athenaeum; or, Repository of the Arts, Sciences and Belles Lettres, I (December 8, 1825), 344. Bears title "Lines Written When Sailing in a Boat at Sea."

"The Mad Mother"

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"Simon Lee, the Old Huntsman"

Port Folio, I (January 17, 1801), 24. With favorable criticism.

"The Thorn"

Port Folio, I (March 21, 1801), 94-95. Unsigned.

"We Are Seven"

Commercial Advertiser (New York, N. Y.), August 1, 1800. Newspaper. With the comment that the poem is taken from a collection called *Lyrical Ballads*.
Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia, Pa.), August 9, 1800. Newspaper. Wrongly attributed to Coleridge.

Columbian Centinel (Boston, Mass.), August 20, 1800. Newspaper. Reprinted from *Gazette of the United States*.

Balance, and Columbian Repository, IV (April 30, 1805), 144. Unsigned. With favorable criticism.

Observer, No. 21 (March 3, 1811), pp. 100-101.

B. *Lyrical Ballads* (1800)

"Ellen Irwin, or the Braes of Kirtle"

Port Folio, I (December 5, 1801), 391. Unsigned.

"The Fountain"

Port Folio, III (September 3, 1803), 288. With favorable criticism.

"Lucy Gray, or Solitude"

Port Folio, I (December 19, 1801), 408. With favorable criticism.

Observer, No. 9 (December 9, 1810), p. 35. Unsigned.

"Michael"

Juvenile Magazine, or Miscellaneous Repository of Useful Information, II (1802), 197-214. Unsigned.

"The Oak and the Broom"

Port Folio, IV (March 24, 1804), 96. With favorable criticism.

"She Dwelt among the Untrodden Ways"

Port Folio, I (June 13, 1801), 189. With favorable criticism.

"Song for the Wandering Jew"

Port Folio, III (September 10, 1803), 296.

"Strange Fits of Passion Have I Known"

Port Folio, I (June 13, 1801), 189. With favorable criticism.

Port Folio, I (December 5, 1801), 392. Unsigned.

"There Was a Boy"

Atlantic Magazine, II (April, 1825), 424. With favorable criticism.

"The Waterfall and the Eglantine"

Port Folio, I (December 19, 1801), 408. With favorable criticism.

"A Whirl-Blast from behind the Hill"

Port Folio, III (October 1, 1803), 320. With favorable criticism.

"Written in Germany on One of the Coldest

Days of the Century"

Port Folio, IV (October 27, 1804), 342.

C. *Poems, in Two Volumes* (1807)

"Alice Fell"

Balance, and Columbian Repository, VI (October 13, 1807), 328. With note indicating that the poem was extracted from a London paper.

Lady's Weekly Miscellany, VI (March 12, 1808), 320.

"Composed upon Westminster Bridge, Sept. 3, 1802"

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 370. With favorable criticism.

"I Travelled among Unknown Men"

Port Folio, 3rd ser., I (March, 1809), 256-257. With favorable criticism.

"She Was a Phantom of Delight"

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 365-366. With favorable criticism.

"Thoughts of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland"

Athenaeum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines, IX (May 1, 1821), 114. With favorable criticism.

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 365. With favorable criticism.

"The World Is Too Much with Us"

Saturday Magazine, I (November 10, 1821), 452. With favorable criticism.

D. *Poems . . . Including Lyrical Ballads and the Miscellaneous Pieces of the Author* (1815)

"Indignation of a High Minded Spaniard"

Atlantic Magazine, II (April, 1825), 433. With favorable criticism.

E. *The River Duddon . . . and Other Poems* (1820)

"Composed at Cora Linn, in Sight of Wallace's Tower"

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, VII (June 1, 1820), 302. With criticism.

"Inscription in a Hermit's Cell"

Columbian Star, III (June 12, 1824), 96.

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, IX (May 1, 1821), 114. With favorable criticism.

"Lament of Mary Queen of Scots"

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, VII (June 1, 1820), 300-301. With favorable criticism.

"Ode to Lycoris"

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, VII (June 1, 1820), 301. With favorable criticism.

"Ode to Lycoris"

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, VII (June 1, 1820), 301. Wordsworth's second poem on this subject. With favorable criticism.

"Ode to the Pass of Kirkstone"

Literary Gazette: or Journal of Criticism, Science, and the Arts, I (February 10, 1821), 95. Ascribed to Woodworth [*sic*].

Sonnets

Nos. 2, 3 [5], 11, 15, 21, 29, 32, 33, 34, *Athenaeum*; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, VII (June 1, 1820), 299-300. With favorable criticism.

No. 8, *Port Folio*, 5th ser., XVII (May, 1824), 432. With favorable criticism.

Nos. 7, 10, 22, *Atlantic Magazine*, II (April, 1825), 431-432. With favorable criticism.

F. *Ecclesiastical Sketches* (1822)

Sonnets

Part I, nos. 3-7, 19-25; Part II, nos. 18-29; Part III, nos. 42-47, *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, I (July-December, 1822), 340-348. Reprinted from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. With favorable criticism.

G. *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent*, 1820 (1822)

"The Eclipse of the Sun, 1820"

Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, I (July-December, 1822), 351-352. Reprints all but the last stanza, with favorable criticism.

"The Italian Itinerant and the Swiss Goatherd"

Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, I (July-December, 1822), 349-350. With favorable criticism.

"Memorial near the Outlet of the Lake of Thun"

Port Folio, 5th ser., XX (November, 1825), 421-422. With favorable criticism.

Sonnets

Nos. 5, 8, 23, *Port Folio*, 5th ser., XX (November, 1825), 420, 421, 424. With favorable criticism.

"The Three Cottage Girls"

Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, I (July-December, 1822), 350.
With favorable criticism.

II. *Extracts (Poetry)*

A. *Lyrical Ballads* (1798)

"Goody Blake and Harry Gill"

National Recorder, IV (December 9, 1820), 372. With unfavorable criticism.
"The Idiot Boy"

Literary Magazine, and American Register, I (February, 1804), 338-340.
With unfavorable criticism.

National Recorder, IV (December 2, 19, 1820), 361-363; 371-372. With unfavorable criticism.

"Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey"

Atlantic Magazine, II (April, 1825), 420-423. With favorable criticism.

"The Thorn"

Literary Magazine, and American Register, I (February, 1804), 336-338. With unfavorable criticism.

B. *Lyrical Ballads* (1800)

"The Brothers"

Port Folio, I (June 13, 1801), 189. With favorable criticism.

"Lucy Gray, or Solitude"

Port Folio, 3rd ser., VI (December, 1811), 564. With critical comment.

"Nutting"

Atlantic Magazine, II (April, 1825), 425. With favorable criticism. Considerable variation from final text.

"The Poet's Epitaph"

Port Folio, I (June 13, 1801), 189. With favorable criticism.

"Three Years She Grew in
Sun and Shower"

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 368. With favorable criticism.

"To Joanna"

Port Folio, I (June 13, 1801), 189. With favorable criticism.

C. *Poems, in Two Volumes* (1807)

"Alice Fell"

Ordeal: A Critical Journal of Politicks and Literature, I (January 14, 1809), 30-31. With unfavorable criticism.

"The Beggars"

Ordeal: A Critical Journal of Politicks and Literature, I (January 14, 1809), 30.
With unfavorable criticism.

"The Blind Highland Boy"

Ordeal: A Critical Journal of Politicks and Literature, I (January 14, 1809), 32. With unfavorable criticism.

"Fidelity"

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 369. With favorable criticism.

"Foresight"

Ordeal: A Critical Journal of Politicks and Literature, I (January 14, 1809), 32. With unfavorable criticism.

"The Green Linnet"

Port Folio, 3rd ser., I (March, 1809), 257. With favorable criticism.

"My Heart Leaps Up When I Behold"

Ordeal: A Critical Journal of Politicks and Literature, I (January 14, 1809), 31. With unfavorable criticism.

"Ode on Intimations of Immortality"

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 361-362. With favorable criticism.

"The Seven Sisters, or the Solitude of Binnorie"

Port Folio, 3rd ser., I (March, 1809), 256. Compared to the manner of Scott.

"The Sparrow's Nest"

Ordeal: A Critical Journal of Politicks and Literature, I (January 14, 1809), 31. With unfavorable criticism.

"To the Daisy"

National Recorder, IV (December 9, 1820), 373. With unfavorable criticism.

"To the Sons of Burns"

Port Folio, 3rd ser., I (March, 1809), 257. With favorable criticism.

D. *The Prelude: Part I* (1809). Extracts first printed in Samuel T. Coleridge's *The Friend*.

Atlantic Magazine, II (April, 1825), 428-429. With favorable criticism.

E. *The Excursion* (1814)

Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines, VI (October, 1815), 280-291.

National Recorder, III (March 4, 1820), 156. Reprinted with a headnote from the *Keene Sentinel*.

Plough Boy, I (April 29, 1820), 384.

Athenaeum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines, IX (May 1, 1821), 111-113. With favorable criticism.

Idle Man, I, 4 (1822), 37. Appears at the head of an essay.

Idle Man, I, 5 (1822), 5. Appears at the head of a story.

Christian Spectator, VI (August 1, 1824), 414-415.

United States Literary Gazette, I (December 1, 1824), 248-249. With favorable criticism.

Columbian Star, III (November 13, 1824), 184. With favorable criticism.

Columbian Star, III (November 20, 1824), 188. Reprinted from the *Boston Statesman*.

Columbian Star, IV (January 8, 1825), 5-6. Reprinted from the *United States Literary Gazette*. With favorable criticism.

Columbian Star, IV (January 15, 22; June 11, 1825), 12; 16; 96.

F. *The White Doe of Rylstone* (1815)

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, IX (May 1, 1821), 111-112.

With favorable criticism.

Atlantic Magazine, II (April, 1825), 429-431. With favorable criticism.

G. *Peter Bell, a Tale in Verse* (1819)

Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines, XIV (October, 1819), 305-310. With unfavorable criticism.

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 363. With mildly favorable criticism.

H. *The River Duddon . . . and Other Poems* (1820)

"The Longest Day: Addressed to My Daughter"

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of the English Magazines*, VIII (January 1, 1821), 283.

Does not reprint the first stanza. Bears title "Stanzas. Addressed to . . . on the Longest Day."

"Vaudracour and Julia"

Athenaeum; or, *Spirit of English Magazines*, VII (June 1, 1820), 300. With favorable criticism.

III. *Extracts (Prose)*

A. *Preface to Lyrical Ballads* (1800)

Port Folio, I (June 13, 1801), 188-189. With favorable criticism.

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 358-359. With critical comments.

B. *Supplement to Preface to Lyrical Ballads* (1815)

United States Literary Gazette, I (December 1, 1824), 247-248. With favorable criticism.

C. *A Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns* (1816)

Port Folio, 5th ser., III (January, 1817), 30-32. Wordsworth's view that the personal and poetical character of Burns can be separated. With favorable comments.

IV. *Poems Attributed to Wordsworth*

"Love," *Port Folio*, III (July 2, 1803), 210. Coleridge's poem mistakenly attributed to Wordsworth. With favorable criticism.

"On the Last Fever in London," *Ladies' Literary Cabinet*, VI (September 14, 1822), 152. (Though not included in any of Wordsworth's collected works, this sonnet is distinctly Wordsworthian and could be by him.)

V. *Reviews*

A. *Lyrical Ballads* (1800)

Port Folio, I (June 13, 1801), 188-189. Reprinted from the *British Critic*.

Favorable criticism, with extracts and complete poems.

"New Publications," *American Review, and Literary Journal*, II (1802), 118-119. Mainly unfavorable, with animadversions on the preface.

Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia, Pa.), January 15, 19-22, 26-30; February 1-6, 1802. Newspaper. Announcement of an American edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, with extracts from a favorable review in the *British Critic*.

B. *The Excursion* (1814)

Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines, VI (October, 1815), 273-291. Reprinted from the *British Critic*. Mainly favorable, with extracts.

C. *Peter Bell, a Tale in Verse* (1819)

Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines, XIV (October, 1819), 309-311. Reprinted from the *Journal of Belles Lettres*. Unfavorable, with extracts.

D. *The Miscellaneous Poems of William Wordsworth* (1820)

North American Review, XVIII (April, 1824), 356-371. Mainly favorable, with extracts and complete poems.

United States Literary Gazette, I (March 1, 15, 1825), 351; 368. Reprinted from the *North American Review*.

E. *The River Duddon . . . and Other Poems* (1820)

Atheneum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines, VII (June 1, 1820), 298-302. Reprinted from the *Literary Gazette*. Favorable, with extracts and complete poems.

F. *Ecclesiastical Sketches* (1822)

Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, I (July-December, 1822), 339-352. Reprinted from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Favorable, with complete poems.

G. *Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820* (1822)

Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, I (July-December, 1822), 339-352. Reprinted from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. Favorable, with complete poems.

Port Folio, 5th ser., XX (November, 1825), 418-424. Favorable, with complete poems.

H. *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* (Boston, 1824)

United States Literary Gazette, I (December 1, 1824), 245-249. Favorable, with extracts from the poems and from the Supplement to Preface (1815).

Columbian Star, IV (January 8, 1825), 5-6. Reprinted from the *United States Literary Gazette*. Mainly favorable, with extracts.

Atlantic Magazine, II (March, April, 1825), 334-348; 419-435. Praises Wordsworth for departing from his theory. Includes extracts and complete poems.

VI. *Imitations, Parodies, and Satires*

- "Jonathan to Jemima," *Port Folio*, II (May 15, 1802), 152. Satire. With editorial comment.
- "Addressed to Her, Who Best Understands It," *Port Folio*, III (January 1, 1803), 8. Imitation. With editorial comment (p. 7) indicating that these lines "must be admired by all, who have a taste for that charming simplicity, with which a Wordsworth has taught us to believe, the most poetical ideas may be conveyed."
- [Rose, Robert H.], "A Lyrical Ballad," *Port Folio*, IV (August 18, 1804), 257-258. Parody. Reprinted, with explanatory notes, in *Sketches in Verse* (Philadelphia, 1810).
- [Rose, Robert H.], "A Humble Imitation," *Port Folio*, IV (October 27, 1804), 342-343. An imitation of Wordsworth's poem "Written in Germany, on One of the Coldest Days of the Century."
- "Simplicity, in Imitation of Mr. Wordsworth," *Port Folio*, 3rd ser., III (May, 1810), 438-439. Satire. With unfavorable criticism of Wordsworth's theory of simplicity.
- [Smith, James and Horace], Extract: "The Baby's Debut," *Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines*, I (March, 1813), 211. Parody. Reprinted from the *Monthly Review*. The poem originally appeared in *Rejected Addresses; or, The New Theatrum Poetarum* (London, 1812). There was an American edition in 1813.
- [Hunt, Leigh], "The Feast of Apollo," *Monthly Recorder*, I (June, 1813), 160. Satire. Reprinted from the *Boston Weekly Messenger*. An American edition of this poem, under the title *The Feast of the Poets*, appeared in 1814.
- [Hunt, Leigh], "The Feast of the Poets," *Port Folio*, 4th ser., III (January, 1814), 57-58. Satire. Reprinted from the *Boston Weekly Messenger*.
- "The Peasant Boy. After the Manner of Wordsworth," *Parterre, A Weekly Magazine*, I (August 31, 1816), 66. Imitation.
- [Hogg, James], Extracts: "The Stranger," "The Flying Tailor," "James Rigg," *Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines*, IX (May, 1817), 432-437. Parody. These poems originally appeared in James Hogg's *The Poetic Mirror; or, The Living Bards of Britain* (London, 1816). There was an American edition in 1817.
- "To ———, Esquire," *Port Folio*, 5th ser., VII (May, 1819), 439. Satire. Reprinted from the *New York Post*.
- [Hogg, James], "The Stranger. An Imitation of Wordsworth," *Port Folio*, 5th ser., VIII (August, 1819), 144-152. Satire. Reprinted from the *Edinburgh Annual Register*. See above.
- "The Sea of Poets," *Club-Room*, No. III (April, 1820), pp. 94-95. Satire (prose).

- "Parody on Wordsworth," *National Recorder*, V (April 21, 1820), 249. Parody.
- "Specimen of an Unpublished Work, Written on a Nameless Occasion," *New England Galaxy & Masonic Magazine*, IV (June 15, 1821), 144. Parody of Wordsworth's *Excursion*.
- "Winter Scenes," *Idle Man*, I (1822), 61-64. Imitation.
- "The Literary Police Office, Bow-Street, London," *Athenaeum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines*, XIII (May 15, 1823), 151. Satire (prose). Reprinted from the *London Magazine*.
- "The Literary Police Office, Bow-Street, London," *Port Folio*, 5th ser., XV (June, 1823), 504. Satire (prose).
- "Modern Poets," *Minerva*, n.s. I (June 12, 1824), 160. Satire.
- "Imitations of Cockney Writers: Table Talk. A New Series # 1, On Nursery Rhymes in General," *Athenaeum*, 2nd ser., II (October 15, 1824), 77-78. Satire (prose). Reprinted from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*.

VII. Miscellaneous

References, including Articles on Wordsworth's
Poetry and Person

- "To Readers and Correspondents," *Port Folio*, I (June 13, 1801), 191. Favorable. Describes *Lyrical Ballads* as "a volume, which contains more genuine poetry, than is to be found, except in the volumes of SHAKESPEARE and CHATTERTON."
- "Literary Intelligence," *Port Folio*, I (December 19, 1801), 407. Favorable.
- "List of Books," *Ladies' Monitor*, I (January 16, 1802), 175. *Lyrical Ballads* regarded as among those works suitable for ladies.
- Notice of *Lyrical Ballads*, *Aurora* (Philadelphia, Pa.), January 23-February 1, 1802. Newspaper. Favorable.
- "Miscellaneous Paragraphs," *Port Folio*, II (February 27, 1802), 62. Announcement of an American edition of *Lyrical Ballads*. Favorable, with comment on their increasing popularity.
- "Critical Notices," *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, I (February, 1804), 336-341. Unfavorable, with extracts.
- "To Readers and Correspondents," *Port Folio*, IV (March 17, 1804), 87. Editor's request for a copy of Wordsworth's *Descriptive Sketches*.
- Review: Bayley, Jr., Peter, *Poems* (American ed., 1804), *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, II (April, 1804), 17. Regards Bayley's parody of Wordsworth, "The Fisherman's Wife," superior to "The Thorn" or "The Idiot Boy."
- "American Lounger," *Port Folio*, V (June 1, 1805), 161. Unfavorable.
- "The Visitor," *Literary Magazine, and American Register*, III (June, 1805), 469. Unfavorable.

- "Present State of English Poetry," *Literary Miscellany*, II (1806), 370-371. Unfavorable.
- "Literary Intelligence," *Port Folio*, 2nd ser., IV (November 14, 1807), 306. Notice of London publication of Wordsworth's *Poems* (1807), with unfavorable criticism.
- "Absurdities," *Ordeal: A Critical Journal of Politicks and Literature*, I (January 14, 1809), 29-32. Mainly unfavorable, with extracts and one complete poem.
- "Criticism: Wordsworth's Poems," *Port Folio*, 3rd ser., I (March, 1809), 256-258. Mainly unfavorable, with extracts and one complete poem.
- Review: [Rose, Robert H.], *Sketches in Verse*, *Port Folio*, 3rd ser., V (March, 1811), 257. *Sketches in Verse* included "A Lyrical Ballad," a parody of Wordsworth, which had first appeared in the *Port Folio*.
- "General View of Literature," *Port Folio*, 3rd ser., VI (December, 1811), 560-564. Mainly unfavorable, with extracts.
- Review: Hunt, Leigh, *The Feast of the Poets* (American ed.), *Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines*, III (September, 1814), 246. Mildly favorable.
- "An Author's Evenings," *Port Folio*, 5th ser., III (January, 1817), 30-32. Writer quotes from Wordsworth's *A Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns* (1816) to support his view that the private life of writers must be protected.
- Review: [Hogg, James], *The Poetic Mirror; or, The Living Bards of Britain* (Edinburgh and Philadelphia, 1817), *Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines*, IX (May, 1817), 432-438. Unfavorable, with extracts from Hogg's parodies of Wordsworth.
- Review: Allston, Washington, *The Sylphs of the Seasons* (First American ed.), *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*, V (September, 1817), 368, 370. Favorable.
- Review: Coleridge, Samuel T., *Biographia Literaria* (American ed.) *Portico; a Repository of Science and Literature*, IV (December, 1817), 419, 427. Defends Wordsworth's theory of the essential identity of the language of poetry and prose against Coleridge's charges.
- "Eighth Lecture of Mr. Hazlitt on the Living Poets of Great Britain," *Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines*, XII (July, 1818), 79. Reprinted from the *Edinburgh Magazine*. A summary of Hazlitt's criticism, both favorable and unfavorable.
- "Of the Moral Constitution of Childe Harold," *Robinson's Magazine: A Repository of Original Papers, and Selections from English Magazines*, I (July 25, 1818), 27. Reprinted from the *Edinburgh Magazine*. Charges that Byron is impregnated with the mystical philosophy of Wordsworth.
- Review: de Genlis, Madame, *De l'Influence des Femmes sur la Littérature Française*, *Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews*

- and *Magazines*, XII (October, 1818), 322. Reprinted from the *British Review*. Praises the treatment of women in Wordsworth's poetry.
- Extract: "Essays on Poetical Skepticism," *New England Galaxy & Masonic Magazine*, II (January 29, 1819), 62. Attacks Calvinism and defends Wordsworth's view that heaven lies about us in our infancy.
- Review: Hazlitt, William, *Lectures on the English Poets* (American ed., 1818), *North American Review*, and *Miscellaneous Journal*, VIII (March, 1819), 277, 318-320, 322. Favorable. A defense of Wordsworth, among others, against what the writer calls "the vulgarity of the attack" of Hazlitt upon their characters.
- "Memoir of Wordsworth," *Analectic Magazine: Containing Selections from Foreign Reviews and Magazines*, XIII (June, 1819), 487-491. Reprinted from the *Monthly Magazine*. Favorable.
- Review: [Irving, Washington], *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon*, *North American Review*, and *Miscellaneous Journal*, IX (September, 1819), 332. Favorable.
- Review: *Letters from Burns*, *Port Folio*, 5th ser., VIII (October, 1819), 335. Disagrees with Wordsworth's view that the personal and poetical character of Burns can be separated.
- Review: [Lockhart, John G.], *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk* (American ed.), *Port Folio*, 5th ser., IX (1820), 12. Says it was disreputable that Wordsworth, among others, was not toasted at a dinner in honor of Burns.
- Review: [Lockhart, John G.], *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk*, (2nd American ed., 1820), *Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine*, III (August, 1820), 12-13, 32-33. Includes extracts of favorable criticism with an analysis of Wordsworth's character.
- "Modern Periodical Literature: *Edinburgh Review*," *Athenium; or, Spirit of the English Magazines*, VIII (November 1, 1820), 103-104. Reprinted from the *New Monthly Magazine*. Defends Wordsworth against the attacks by the *Edinburgh Review*.
- "Living Novelists: Mr. Maturin," *Athenium; or, Spirit of the English Magazines*, VIII (November 15, 1820), 154. Reprinted from the *New Monthly Magazine*. Ranks Wordsworth among the "genuine and holy bards": Shakespeare, Milton, and Spenser.
- "Lake School of Poetry: Mr. Wordsworth," *National Recorder*, IV (December 2, 9, 1820), 359-363; 371-373. Reprinted from the *New Monthly Magazine*. Unfavorable, with extracts.
- "Essay on the Progress of Literature," *Literary and Scientific Repository, and Critical Review*, II (January, 1821), 160-161. Reprinted from the *Retrospective Review*. Favorable.
- Review: [Walter, William B.], *Sukey*, *New England Galaxy & Masonic Magazine*, IV (February 2, 1821), 112. Attacks "the degenerate and corrupt morality" of Wordsworth among others.
- "Periodical Literature," *Literary and Scientific Repository, and Critical Re-*

- view*, II (April, 1821), 385. Expresses view that Jeffrey's attack on Wordsworth was justifiable.
- "Living Poets: Wordsworth," *Athenaeum; or, Spirit of the English Magazines*, IX (May 1, 1821), 111-114. Reprinted from the *New Monthly Magazine*. Favorable, with extracts and complete poems.
- Review: Keats, John, *Poems, Saturday Magazine*, I (November 10, 1821), 452. Reprinted from Baldwin's *London Magazine*. Favorable, with one poem.
- "Mr. Irving," *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, VI (1823), 200-202. Includes a quotation from Edward Irving's *For the Oracles of God* defending Wordsworth against abuse, with writer's rejoinder.
- Extract: Irving, Edward, *For the Oracles of God, Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, III (July-December, 1823), 370. Reprinted from the *London Magazine*. Favorable.
- Review: Baillie, Joanna, *A Collection of Poems . . . from Living Authors, Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, III (July-December, 1823), 198. Reprinted from the *New Monthly Magazine*. Mainly favorable criticism of Wordsworth's sonnets.
- Extract: Griscom, John, *A Year in Europe, National Pilot*, III (September 25, 1823). Account of a visit to Wordsworth. Mainly favorable.
- "Account of Cobbett," *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, IV (January-June, 1824), 29. Regrets that Campbell attacked Wordsworth because of his appointment as a stamp collector.
- "Good Versification Essential to Good Poetry," *American Monthly Magazine*, I (February, 1824), 102-105. Unfavorable.
- "Miscellaneous Notices," *North American Review*, XVIII (April, 1824), 423. Heralds Wordsworth, among others, for his part in the revolution in poetic dialect, but questions some of results.
- "Domestic Literature," *Atlantic Magazine*, I (June, 1824), 136. Favorable.
- "Lord Byron—Past and Present," *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, V (July-December, 1824), 188, 190, 194. Reprinted from *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*. Regards Wordsworth as superior to Byron.
- Review: Simmons, J. W., *An Inquiry into the Moral Character of Lord Byron, Atlantic Magazine*, II (December, 1824), 103. Unfavorable.
- [Wilson, John], "Noctes Ambrosianae," *Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, VII (1825), 452-453. Reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine*. Regards Wordsworth as a good man, but a bad poet.
- Review: Byron, Lord, *Poems* (American ed., 1815), *North American Review*, XX (January, 1825), 14. Unfavorable.
- Extract: Hazlitt, William, *The Spirit of the Age, New England Galaxy & Masonic Magazine*, VIII (April 29, 1825). Description of Wordsworth's person and habits.
- "Lord Byron's Character and Writings," *North American Review*, XXI (July, 1825), 350. Charges Wordsworth with having "caricatured the simplicity of nature."

*Bledsoe's "Is Davis a Traitor?"**A Note on an Imprint Changed without Cancellation*

Albert Taylor Bledsoe's *Is Davis a Traitor; or Was Secession a Constitutional Right Previous to the War of 1861?* achieved enough success to have required a new edition in 1907, but the first edition of 1866 must have been printed in too great a quantity for its original plan of distribution. The original imprint read: "Baltimore: | Printed for the Author, by Innes & Company, | 1866." Just above this imprint, perhaps in the 1870's, there was pasted a diamond-shaped sticker with the following wording on its ornamental scroll: "Kelly & Piet | Printers | Publishers & | Importers | 174 W Balt^o. St. | Baltimore."

Normally one would suppose this to have been a bookseller's advertising sticker of the sort common in nineteenth-century American use (though they were generally placed on the inside covers), but of five copies of Bledsoe's book examined, two carry the identical label in the same position. Moreover, if enough copies were to be examined, some correlation of the stickered copies with the variant binding cloths might be found. Of the five copies seen by the writer of this note, one of the stickered copies was rebound. The other four in their original edition bindings were in three different colors and two different textures of cloth, so distributed that each of the four could be classed as a different variety. Only the stickered copy was in brown cloth.

J. C. WYLLIE

University of Virginia

Book Reviews

STEINITZ, KATE TRAUMAN. *Leonardo da Vinci's Trattato della Pittura, Treatise on Painting. A bibliography of the printed editions, 1651-1956. Based on the complete collection in the Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana. Preceded by a study of its sources and illustrations. Preface by Elmer Belt.* Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1958. 245 pp. Illustrations in text, 9¾ by 6½ inches. Dan. Kr. 78.00. (Published by the University Library, Copenhagen, Scientific and Medical Department. Library Research Monographs, vol. 5.)

The enigma of Leonardo da Vinci, as exemplified by that inscrutable smile on the *Mona Lisa*, pervades many phases of Leonardo studies, but nowhere perhaps more than is evidenced in this bibliography of the printed editions of his most famous contribution to the world of letters, the *Trattato della Pittura*. Strangely enough Leonardo had but little to do with the publication of his treatise, for the first printed edition came out in Paris in 1651, just 132 years after his death. Since that first edition 61 others have been published in nine languages. As might be expected in a posthumous publication, the editions differ considerably, although all are based on one parent manuscript in the Vatican, Codex Vaticanus (Urbinas) 1270. Some are based on abbreviated versions of this manuscript, others are based on part manuscript and part printed editions, and quite often with apocryphal material for good measure. As a result, the whole matter of editions has been a nightmare for collectors and bibliographers from the beginning.

This bibliography of the editions of the *Trattato della Pittura* has developed out of the need to determine the manner in which the first edition came into being, as well as later editions, to lay the ghosts to rest, and to analyze the whole galaxy of problems that seem to be standard procedure in all Leonardo studies: This task has faced Mrs. Steinitz, Librarian of the Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana in Los Angeles, and her patron Dr. Elmer Belt, for many years. It is gratifying to learn that in the process

the Belt Library now has a complete run of all 62 editions, and this study describes each of them fully in the annotated bibliography.

In the introduction Mrs. Steinitz summarizes the trials of Leonardo's *Trattato* through the 132 years between his death and the first printed edition. Since Leonardo never took time to gather together his thoughts and writings on his philosophy of art and his precepts for painters, there was no copy available for the printer at his death. It fell upon Francesco Melzi, his disciple and heir, to compile such a manuscript from the mass of drawings, notebooks, marginalia, and scraps of paper left behind in a completely unorganized state. Through most of Melzi's lifetime, this task was carried on by him and others with eventual publication as their goal. It may seem strange that so much time should be necessary, but when one learns that Leonardo wrote in an abbreviated form of writing of his own invention, which was also in reverse and could be read only with a mirror, an understanding of the handicaps of all Leonardo studies, early or recent, is realized. Melzi's transcription is the Vatican Codex, the parent manuscript of the *Trattato*. Basic to Mrs. Steinitz' study has been the analysis of the extant manuscript copies of the Melzi manuscript, or of Leonardo manuscripts, for they were freely copied from Leonardo's lifetime on up into the 17th century. These are scattered around the world in such places as Rome, Florence, Milan, Paris, London, Windsor Castle, New York, Norwalk, Connecticut, and Los Angeles. With its important collection of reference materials on Leonardo and the Renaissance gathered together in the Elmer Belt Library of Vinciana, which includes as large and complete a literary, pictorial and audio-visual collection as can be brought together, it is not surprising to see this bibliographic study develop where such comparison and analysis as required are perhaps uniquely possible.

Part I of this monograph, fully half of the entire book, discusses individually each manuscript copy of the *Trattato* known, indicating its present location, full provenance, and how each varies from the others. They fall into families of manuscripts, such as the group which contains illustrations for the text in the form of drawings by Nicolas Poussin or his school.

Part II is primarily bibliographic. Preceded by a classified list of the printed editions, whether they be based on the Vatican's Melzi manuscript or on abbreviated copies such as those described in Part I, the bibliography, chronologically arranged, proceeds. Each of the 62 editions is minutely described, including a complete transcription of the title page,

collation, pagination, contents, illustrations, provenance, and the annotation itself. An appendix includes a short history of Leonardo's manuscripts and their travels, transcriptions of original documents discussed in the text, a working bibliography constantly referred to in the text, and an index of names.

The Danish publisher and printer have produced a handsome monograph. It is printed in 10 point Intertype Bodoni, compact and yet easily read. The binding is in imitation vellum, with the title printed over a reproduction of a Leonardo drawing.

WILSON G. DUPREY

New York Public Library

LEWIS, WILMARTH SHELDON. *Horace Walpole's Library*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1958. x, 74 pp. Plates, facsimis. 10 x 6 inches. Edition of 750 copies. \$7.50. (The Sandars Lectures, 1957.)

Everyone has had a fine time with the 1957 Sandars lectures. Mr. Wilmarth Lewis obviously charmed his audience; Horace Walpole tottered back into vogue; and some Cambridge University printer has had a field day.

That the lectures delightfully recount the story of the assembly and dispersal of the Strawberry Hill books, and tell of Horace Walpole's reading habits is already well enough known, and may in fact be gathered from the Table of Contents. What may be missed by the casual reader (if indeed anyone who lays \$7.50 on the line for one of the 750 copies can really be casual about examining his investment) are the slow curves pitched by the author and printer.

Mr. Lewis's prose is incarnately Walpolean, from neglected commas to pre-Fowlerian relative pronouns. A Grignion fleuron on the title page deftly and accurately indicates the presence of one of the noble authors of New England. The fat, flop-eared, maverick Scotch typeface out-Caslons Kirgate.

And in case any of the American investors in this little gem should want to know how to pronounce the name "Sandars" in "The Sandars Lectures," the paper on which the book was joyfully printed is watermarked, as the reader will already have guessed, "Saunders."

J. C. WYLLIE

University of Virginia

DICKSON, SARAH AUGUSTA. *The Arents Collection of Books in Parts and Associated Literature; A Complete Checklist with an Introductory Survey*. New York, The New York Public Library, 1957. 88 pp. Wrappers. 4 half-tone plates. 10 x 7 inches. \$2.00.

The Arents Collection of Books in Parts, housed at the New York Public Library in a handsome room adjoining that in which the Arents Tobacco Collection is installed, includes books of the most diverse types issued serially, as well as a number of books, manuscripts, and illustrations associated with them. The present checklist is an invitation to view the collection. It needs but a glance at the contents page to learn what diverse types are included in the collection: there are novels and other works of *belles lettres*; sporting books, original drawings, and memoirs of high life; travel books, architectural plates, and landscape prints; shilling shockers and penny dreadfuls; informational works; and, finally, volumes on botany and zoölogy. An overview of some of the volumes in these categories is given in the "Brief Survey" written by their custodian, Miss Dickson, who clearly defines the type of books coming within the scope of the collection.

"Books in parts," she writes, "may be defined as works by an author which are published piecemeal over a period of time, each unit having its separate cover, usually paper or boards, and in many cases with the title-page and other preliminary matter for the volume or volumes at the end of the last part. Some books in parts, to be sure, were issued without title-pages or stitched without wrappers. But all were issued serially, at intervals of time." She writes, further, that: "the criterion of choice for the inclusion of an author's work in the Arents collection is not that such a work is the first printing in a periodical or the first edition in book-form, but that it is a book in parts, in its original state. One example will illustrate this. The pieces in *Sketches by Boz* by Dickens appeared in various periodicals in London from December 1833 to October 1836. Then Macrone, who became the owner of the copyright of the sketches, issued them in book form, the first series in two volumes in February 1836 and the second series in one volume in December 1836. These two were reprinted several times. Finally Chapman and Hall issued them in 20 parts from November 1837 to December 1839. This issue in parts is in the Arents collection; the earliest periodical printing and the volume editions are not."

Besides the issue in parts, there are other items relating to the sketches

by Dickens, the author whose work is the most prominent, numerically, in the checklist. The other items are: an edition published at Calcutta, in 1837; two American editions, dated 1837 and 1839; a German translation of both series, dated 1839; and a Swedish translation, dated 1840. This "associated literature" is of interest on two counts: it has a bibliographic interest, and also a literary interest inasmuch as it reveals the popularity of a very young author.

In all, there are 119 items relating to Dickens; 25 relating to Thackeray; 21 relating to Trollope; and 21 relating to Charles Lever. The authors are listed alphabetically; and when they are represented by more than one work, their books are listed chronologically. When there are a number of issues of a work, these and associated material of whatever the date, are grouped with that work. Thus in the case of *Pickwick*, the related material, although ranging in date from 1836 to 1894, is grouped after the first entry, dating from 1836.

Much pleasure may be derived from reading the checklist because the entries are annotated. In the case of illustrated books, the names of the illustrators are noted, likewise the number of illustrations; and, finally, the methods of their reproduction, whether it be wood-engraving, steel-engraving, lithography, photogravure, half-tone or line-cut.

In a number of instances there are original illustrations, either preliminary sketches, or finished work after which the reproductions were made. Thus for Trollope's *He Knew He Was Right* there are listed 67 original pen-and-ink drawings by Marcus Stone after which the wood-engravings were made as illustrations. Then there are three of the original drawings in pencil by Millais for *Framley Parsonage*. One of these is reproduced in half-tone as an illustration for the checklist. Among the other artists represented in the collection by original drawings are Leech, Alken, Cruikshank, Rowlandson, and Hablôt Knight Browne, who invariably signed his work "Phiz."

Numerous autograph letters are in the collection. Among this manuscript material one finds listed letters by Ainsworth, Dickens, Thackeray, Bulwer-Lytton, Tennyson, Swinburne, and H. G. Wells. Miss Dickson writes: "In a collection where all the items are rare it is unnecessary to use constantly such expressions as 'unknown to bibliographers' or 'of the utmost rarity.' To the compiler the most important consideration has been to make known what is in the collection, so that those interested may have this information."

Her checklist, compiled with the assistance of George Solovieff, does,

indeed, make known "what is in the collection." It, furthermore, is a useful little reference work. According to the index, about 300 authors and about 200 illustrators are represented in the collection. Illustrators are generally overlooked in bibliographies and catalogues; and because of the tabulation of their work here, the reference value of the checklist is greatly enhanced.

It is an attractive pamphlet resembling one of the parts of a book in parts issued during the nineteenth century. The cover and title-page, designed by Liam Dunne, are in the style of typography used on the covers and title-pages of serial issues of novels by Thackeray, Dickens, and Trollope.

THEODORE BOLTON

The Century Club Library

Regional Advisory Boards

At the meeting of the members of the Bibliographical Society of America at Yale University on May 16, 1958, it was announced that Regional Advisory Boards had been established. The object of the Council of the Society in establishing such Boards is to encourage interest in bibliography and encourage support of the Society throughout the country. Toward this end Regional Advisory Boards have been set up for New England, the Middle Atlantic States, the South, the Mid-West, the Old South-West and the Pacific Coast, under the guidance of chairmen who are aided by a co-ordinating chairman for the entire organization. The purpose of each Regional Advisory Board is to promote greater local interest in bibliographical matters and in the Society. If this interest warrants, regional meetings may be in order. The Regional Boards will also stimulate locally the writing of articles for the PAPERS and suggest to scholars working on large bibliographical projects that they submit their manuscripts to the Society for publication. The Boards will also advise on the policies of the Society, particularly as they pertain to the individual region, and will constitute a group from which members may be chosen for an enlarged Council. The Co-ordinating Chairman for the ensuing year is Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N. Y. The present membership of the Boards themselves is as follows:

THOMAS R. ADAMS (Chairman for New England Region)

H. Richard Archer

William H. Bond

Donald C. Gallup

Stephen T. Riley .

Stuart C. Sherman

Alexander O. Vietor

Wyllis E. Wright

EDWIN WOLF, II (Chairman for the Mid-Atlantic Region)

David V. Erdman

Ralph Shaw

Allan Stevenson

Rudolph Hirsch

Sol. M. Malkin

STANLEY PARGELLIS (Chairman for the Mid-West Region)

John Parker

James Fuller Spoerri

David A. Randall

Clyde C. Walton

William White

Arthur T. Hamlin

James Wells

Dale Bentz

Louis Kaplan

MISS DOROTHY MINER (Chairman for the Southern Region)

John Cook Wyllie

Linton Massey

James McManaway

Richmond P. Bond

John Melville Jennings

David Mearns

Frederick R. Goff

Raymond Adams

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON (Chairman for the Old South-West Region)

Richard Beale Davis

David E. Kaser

Garland Taylor

Marvin Miller

Alexander Moffitt

Hensley Woodbridge
Sykes Hartin

GEORGE L. HARDING (Chairman for the Pacific Coast Region)

Andrew Horn

Lyle H. Wright

Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr.

Terry Bender

James D. Hart

David C. Duniway

Joel Ferris

